

JULY 25, 1975

25 CENTS

VOLUME 39/NUMBER 28

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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# Portuguese junta tightens the noose

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'Free Joanne!'**

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# In Brief

**FBI CHIEF DEFENDS COINTELPRO:** FBI Director Clarence Kelley has made his strongest statement to date openly defending the FBI's illegal Cointelpro activities. The FBI claims to have discontinued in 1971 its "Counterintelligence Programs" aimed at disrupting the Socialist Workers party, the Black civil rights movement, the antiwar movement, and others. The Political Rights Defense Fund, however, has presented more than fifty documented cases of Cointelpro-type incidents since the supposed 1971 cutoff date.

At a July 14 news conference Kelley endorsed such things as the recently uncovered FBI-engineered firing of Evelyn Sell, a teacher who had run for public office as an SWP candidate. The purpose, according to the FBI chief, was not to "damage the reputation" of individual targets. It was "to do something that would ultimately . . . benefit the nation."

Kelley said that these illegal plots might not seem as appropriate as they once did and cautiously stated that the FBI had "no intent to continue" doing such things in the future.

At the same news conference Kelley also admitted for the first time that the FBI had performed burglaries. He said the "surreptitious entries" were not illegal.

## Mo. court orders new trial for J.B. Johnson

By Peter Seidman

ST. LOUIS, July 15—At a widely attended news conference here today, the Committee to Defend J.B. Johnson hailed a major victory in their five-year campaign to win freedom for a victim of racist injustice.

Yesterday, the Missouri Supreme Court reversed the 1972 first-degree murder conviction of Johnson and ordered a new trial. Today, Attorney General John Danforth's office announced that it does not intend to appeal the supreme court's decision. This means that Johnson will be transferred from the Missouri State Penitentiary to the jurisdiction of the St. Louis County Court, where a judge is expected to rule shortly on Johnson's request to be released on bail.

Johnson, twenty-five, has been serving a life sentence stemming from frame-up charges that he was an accomplice in the January 1970 death of a policeman during a jewelry store holdup.

In a statement at the news conference, Fredelle Robinson, cochairperson of the Committee to Defend J.B. Johnson, demanded that every effort be made to expedite Johnson's immediate release on personal recognizance.

Also appearing at the news conference to support this demand were: Mary Watkins, mother of J.B. Johnson; Dr. John Doggett, president, St. Louis NAACP; Msgr. John Shocklee, Commission on Human Rights, Archdiocese of St. Louis; and State Representatives J.D. Banks and Raymond Quarles.

slogans included "Stop nuclear war threats in Korea" and "End the arms race, not the human race." The White House turned down a request by protest organizers to meet with a member of the National Security Council.

**HOUSTON FARM WORKERS RALLY SET:** Houston supporters of the farm workers' organizing drive along the Mexican border in Texas are planning a rally for Sunday, August 3, at 2:00 p.m. in Moody Park. Sponsors include La Raza Unida party, the Socialist Workers party, and others.

The featured speaker will be United Farm Workers organizer Antonio Orendain. He is now in West Texas, where organizing efforts are being focused on the area around Pecos.

**PSP WINS BALLOT SPOT:** The Puerto Rican Socialist party got official certification June 26 for a place on the ballot in Puerto Rico after filing more than 65,000 signatures on petitions. *Claridad*, the PSP daily, called this a "victory won by the working people against the colonial regime."

Although the PSP has yet to make a decision to field candidates, the ruling means that the party can run candidates for all positions open in the November 1976 general elections.

The Puerto Rican Independence party will also have a ballot slot. The PIP was on the ballot in 1972 and received the 5 percent of the vote required for an automatic place on the ballot this year.

**THE MILITANT GETS AROUND:** *El Renacimiento* is published by Chicanos in Lansing, Michigan. Its June 23 issue headlined on the front page Harry Ring's *Militant* analysis of the new California farm labor law. In May the paper reprinted José Pérez's column on the human suffering wrought by the economic depression in Puerto Rico.

The June 20 *Chicano Times*, published in San Antonio, Texas, picked up the article by Lupe Cásares from the June 6 *Militant* on the shooting of striking farm workers in Hidalgo, Texas.

**. . . A DANGEROUS THING:** Some ruling-class thinkers have lately been toying with the idea that maybe it's not necessary to have so many young people go to college, after all. This is partly a response to the economic crisis. Higher education is just another part of our living standard that can be attacked. On the other hand, a recent Gallup poll found another reason some may favor this idea.

Students' political thinking shifts sharply to the left during their college years. While 30 percent of first-year students said they were left of center and 24 percent said they were right of center, 53 percent of seniors put themselves left of center and only 20 percent right of center.

"A lead of 6 percentage points for the left has thus become a lead of 33 percentage points in the senior year," observed pollster George Gallup.

—Nelson Blackstock

## THE MILITANT

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Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS  
Managing Editor: LARRY SEIGLE  
Business Manager: ROSE OGDEN  
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING  
Washington Bureau: CINDY JAQUITH

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**ROSENBERG FILES SOUGHT:** In Washington, D.C., on July 14 Michael and Robert Meeropol, sons of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, filed suit to obtain government files in the Rosenberg case. The Meeropols are out to prove the innocence of their parents, who were executed in 1953 on charges of giving the secret of the atomic bomb to the Soviet Union.

The suit demands the release of all relevant files now held by the CIA, FBI, and five other government agencies. It further calls for preventing the destruction of the files—the FBI's alone are estimated at nearly 50,000 pages—and demands that they be turned over to the court for safekeeping pending their release.

A few days before the suit was scheduled to be filed, a number of newspapers featured a story put out by Attorney General Edward Levi. Levi had supposedly written the Meeropols to say that he was ready to turn over the files. The Meeropols released copies of the letters, which say no such thing.

"All we have is promises—no files, no inventory of files, and no timetable for release," said Robert Meeropol.

"They are trying to confuse the public," Jean Edwards of the National Committee to Re-Open the Rosenberg Case told the *Militant*. She sees it as a move to reduce mounting public pressure.

**ANTIBOMB PICKET:** Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger's Strangelovian threats to drop nuclear bombs on the Soviet Union and Korea, followed by President Ford's endorsement of the World War III talk, have led some people to take to the street in protest.

Called by Women Strike for Peace and the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, a picket line in front of the White House was joined by 100 people on July 8. Demonstrators'

**YOUR FIRST ISSUE?**

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The trial of Joanne Little is underway. Her case has become a rallying point for opponents of racism and sexism. They will be watching developments in the courtroom in North Carolina. To stay on top of what's happening there and the growing defense effort around the country, subscribe to the *Militant*.

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# Eyes of nation turn to Raleigh as Joanne Little faces trial for her life

By Cindy Jaquith

RALEIGH, N.C.—Twenty-one-year-old Joanne Little went on trial here July 14, not only for her own life, but for the lives and dignity of thousands of other Blacks, women, and prisoners in this country.

As she emerged from the courthouse on the first day, hundreds of young Black supporters surrounded her chanting "Free Joanne! Free Joanne!" In other cities, solidarity actions were taking place at the same time, organized by activists in the growing movement to free Little.

The eyes of the entire nation are fixed upon Raleigh and the first-degree murder charge against this young Black woman. Already, her case is being described as the civil rights, and women's rights, trial of the 1970s.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith  
Andrew Pulley, of Chicago Student Coalition Against Racism, addresses demonstrators in Raleigh.

The trial, now in the stage of jury selection, was moved here after a judge ruled it would be impossible for Little to receive a fair trial in Beaufort County, in the eastern part of the state. It was at the Beaufort County jail in Washington, North Carolina, that the alleged crime took place for which she is now on trial for her life.

Last August 27, when Little was imprisoned at the jail, Clarence Alligood, a sixty-two-year-old white jailer, entered her cell armed with an ice pick and tried to rape her. In the course of the fight that ensued, Alligood was stabbed and Little fled to save her life. The rapist was found dead the next morning, nude from the waist down, with semen on his leg.

## Death penalty

For defending herself against this racist sexual assault, Little is now charged with first-degree murder. If convicted, North Carolina law makes the death penalty mandatory. Little would then join the more than eighty prisoners on death row in this state, two having been added in just the past week.

Because of the outpouring of support for Little, the state has been unable to quietly railroad her to the gas chamber. Instead, her case has received national publicity. Four hundred newspaper, television, and radio correspondents have applied for press credentials at the trial. Only thirty-two seats in the tiny courtroom have been reserved for the news media. Another forty-five have been reserved for spectators, accommodating only a fraction of the people who have come here to see that Little receives justice.

The hundreds of supporters who

were unable to get into the trial July 14 demonstrated for hours outside the courthouse in solidarity with Little. The protest had begun with a morning march in drenching rain from the women's prison on the outskirts of the city, through a Black neighborhood, and into downtown Raleigh. Some demonstrators came from as far away as Chicago, Philadelphia, Atlanta, and Baltimore.

As the march arrived at the courthouse, hundreds of Black residents of Raleigh lined up on the sidewalk to watch the demonstration. Many raised clenched fists as the march went by.

An injunction has been issued against demonstrations or distribution of literature on courthouse property. The demonstrators held a brief rally and then organized a picket on the sidewalk in front of the courthouse. The most popular chant was "Everybody/Clap your hands/Get together/And free Joanne!"

Among the speakers who addressed the demonstrators during the day of protest were Larry Little, from the Winston-Salem Black Panther party; Andrew Pulley, of the Chicago Student Coalition Against Racism; Black activist Owusu Sadaukai; and Rev. Ben Chavis, a defendant in the Wilmington Ten case, another racist frame-up in this state.

## 'Massive support'

"What goes on in the courtroom is important," Pulley said, "but to ensure freedom for Sister Joanne, we must also show massive support for her here on the outside, everywhere in the country."

Pulley linked Little's fight to other struggles against racism—the busing battle, cutback fights on campus, and protests against cop brutality.

Other figures who traveled to Raleigh to be here for the opening of the trial included Bill Hampton, brother of slain Black Panther leader Fred Hampton; and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate.

The preceding day, July 13, a vigil was held for Little, organized by the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice. Among the participants was the mother of Jesse Fowler, one of the Black prisoners on North Carolina's death row. Fowler's lawsuit to overturn the state's death penalty is currently before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Earlier that day, the North Carolina National Organization for Women ended its convention with a news conference on the courthouse steps. Laine Calloway, statewide NOW coordinator, told reporters that Little's case is "symbolic of the struggle of all women."

Inside the courtroom, the racist nature of this frame-up has dominated the proceedings. On the first day, Morris Dees, a defense attorney from the Southern Poverty Law Center, presented a motion to quash the first-degree murder indictment on the grounds that the death penalty in North Carolina is wielded discriminatorily against Blacks.

As proof, he cited the statistics: Sixty-seven percent of the more than eighty prisoners now on death row are Black. Yet Blacks are only 23 percent of the state population.

Judge Hobgood briskly rejected the motion, as he has rejected all but one of the other preliminary motions from the defense.

The jury selection process, which began July 14, promises to last two weeks or more. Each potential juror is brought before the court and ques-



Militant/Cindy Jaquith  
Hundreds of supporters gather outside courthouse as Joanne Little trial opens

tioned in turn by the judge, prosecution, and the defense. The defense has been given fourteen peremptory challenges, meaning the attorneys can reject fourteen potential jurors without giving any reason. The prosecution has nine such challenges. Jurors can also be disqualified by the judge.

As of the afternoon of July 16, four jurors had been selected. Three are white and in their twenties. Three are women, one working as a waitress, another as a prison counselor, and the third is a forty-nine-year-old machinist. The male juror is a salesman.

## Black jurors excluded

Five of the six Black potential jurors called thus far have been thrown out—either by the prosecution or the judge—in a blatant effort to keep the jury lily-white.

There were three Blacks in the first panel of twelve prospective jurors, and only two in the second panel. Prosecutor Lester Chalmers asked only a few perfunctory questions of four of the Blacks called, and then used his peremptory challenges to excuse them from the jury, supplying no reason.

None was really needed. Chalmers, who has played the central role for the prosecution thus far, is notorious as an attorney for the Ku Klux Klan. In 1965 and in 1966, he represented KKK Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton before the House Un-American Activities Committee. His appointment to this case by the North Carolina attorney general speaks volumes about the intentions of the state to give Joanne Little a "fair trial."

The defense requested that Chalmers be removed from the case because of his



Militant/Cindy Jaquith  
Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid distributes campaign literature after rally.

association with the Klan, but Judge Hobgood denied this motion.

After Chalmers rejected the third Black juror, however, Jerry Paul, the chief attorney for Little, rose to say, "Let the record show that the state is using its peremptory challenges to excuse Blacks."

"I object to that statement," Chalmers retorted.

"I would expect the Klan to object to that," replied Paul.

Hobgood ordered this exchange stricken from the record, although he permitted mention of the fact that the challenged jurors were Black.

Another Black potential juror, Josephine Morgan, sent Chalmers flying into a rage when she replied to a question about the death penalty in a quiet but firm manner, "I do not believe in killing people."

Chalmers began yelling at Morgan, who is a middle-aged woman, in a threatening manner. "In fact, you wouldn't find someone guilty if you thought they'd be gassed no matter what the evidence, would you?" he shouted.

After Chalmers' outburst Judge Hobgood dismissed Morgan as a juror, giving as a reason her opposition to the death penalty.

## Prosecution maneuver

The prosecution is using the fact that first-degree murder convictions in this state entail an automatic death penalty to disqualify as many Black, young, and female jurors as possible. If the potential juror says she or he opposes the death penalty, Chalmers has tried to insist that they be taken out of consideration.

The defense approach to jury selection has been to ask questions that would reveal a potential juror's attitude toward Blacks, women, the police, and prisoners. Typical questions are: "Do you feel that Blacks have gotten too much economically in the recent past?" "Do you think when the going gets tough, a man can make better decisions than a woman?" And, "Would you tend to believe the word of a police officer before that of a prisoner?"

The prosecution has vigorously objected to this line of questioning. On the second day of jury selection, Judge Hobgood suddenly interrupted Paul's questioning of a potential juror to announce, "I'm going to bust up your system." In deference to the prosecution, Hobgood claimed that the defense questions consume too much time and are irrelevant. "It's not necessary to

*Continued on page 26*

# N.Y. rally demands: 'Free Joanne Little!'



Riverside Church rally of 600 brought together Black and women's groups in united protest against frame-up of Joanne Little.

By Cliff Conner

NEW YORK—"We've learned through the case of Joanne Little and other cases in this country that if we hang together we can literally save brothers and sisters who get caught up in the coils of an indecent and racist system. . . . We know we can win if we are together. We know we must lose if we are not together."

These remarks by attorney William Kunstler at the Joanne Little speak-out here on July 11 expressed one of the sentiments that dominated the rally.

An overflow crowd of 600 people gathered at Riverside Church to demand "Drop all charges against Joanne Little and set her free!" The meeting represented a united response from a wide range of organizations and individuals.

The rally brought together feminist, Black, Puerto Rican, trade-union, church, civil liberties, radical, and student organizations in sponsoring the meeting and providing speakers.

Actor and poet Ossie Davis noted that he has been "involved in fights on matters of principle in cases such as the Rosenbergs, Angela Davis, and many others. But no other case has been so personal and so painful to me, and yet has given me cause for greater pride than that of Joanne Little."

"Joanne Little has become a symbol of the oppression of women," U.S. Rep. Bella Abzug told the crowd, "particularly Black women. . . . For most of her young life, Joanne Little has been a victim of a system that degrades and exploits Black women. Under slavery, rape was considered not only a privi-

lege, but a right of the slave owners. Slavery has been long gone, but women in the South and all over this country are still enslaved by socially accepted practices that have made thousands of women the undefended and even maligned victims of rapists."

Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.* magazine, stressed the fact that millions of women identify with Joanne Little's plight. "There's not a woman in this room," she said, "who would be surprised to hear that what is being said [by the prosecution] of Joanne Little is that she invited the 'irresistible,' oversixty, white jailer into her cell; that she 'asked for it.'"

Many speakers emphasized the importance of large public rallies and demonstrations for Little. Lennox Hinds of the National Conference of

Black Lawyers said, "Whatever lawyers do—and I speak to you as a lawyer—only through mass support will Joanne be freed."

Willie Mae Reid, 1976 Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president, spoke of some of the fears that must go through Little's mind when she thinks about her trial:

"When she says she had to defend herself against a white man armed with an ice pick, the racists will say she was out of line. There's no such thing as Black self-defense against white violence. That's Black sassiness in the face of white chastisement."

"But we here in this meeting tonight say to Joanne Little:

"We believe you! We know you are telling the truth! We are on your side!"

"This movement will be more powerful than racist lies, more powerful than sexist myths, and more powerful than the state of Carolina!"

Eduardo Aguiar brought greetings to the rally from the Federación Universitaria Socialista Puertorriqueña. In his remarks he reminded the crowd of another woman prisoner, Lolita Lebron. Lebron is one of the four Puerto Rican nationalists who has been held in federal prison for more than twenty years.

Greetings were presented from the American Indian Movement, the Attica Brothers, the Committee to Defend J.B. Johnson, H. Rap Brown, and State Sen. Julian Bond from Georgia and U.S. Rep. John Conyers from Michigan.

Sam Manuel, coordinator of the New York Student Coalition Against Ra-

cism, closed the rally on a point of enthusiasm and confidence by stating: "The same people who are trying to stop school desegregation in Boston, the same people who waged a thirty-year genocidal war against Indochina, are the same people who right now are trying to convict Joanne Little. They're going to lose in Boston, they've already lost in Indochina, and they're going to lose the Joanne Little case!"

This rally was one of many support activities held around the country to protest the victimization of Little. Through these activities thousands of people are expressing agreement with Manuel's statement that "the town of Washington, North Carolina, is on trial. It's on trial by the majority of us who stand for the dignity of Blacks, who stand for their civil rights, and who stand for the rights of women in this country."

The speak-out, which was sponsored by a broad range of organizations, was initiated by the New York Student Coalition Against Racism. Conyers' message to the rally included a warm appreciation of New York SCAR's role:

"I want to take this opportunity to express my unrestricted support for the benefit that the New York Student Coalition Against Racism has coordinated on behalf of Joanne Little. The initiative you have taken in this area is reflective of the kind of national leadership that the coalition has consistently demonstrated among our younger citizenry, at a time when such leadership is so lacking among the older."



Militant/Lou Howort  
Sam Manuel, coordinator of N.Y. Student Coalition Against Racism.

## Rallies and picket lines from coast to coast

July 11 through July 14 were days of pickets, rallies, and demonstrations across the nation in support of Joanne Little.

Councils of Black, feminist, student, church, and radical organizations, as well as many prominent individuals, joined together to speak out in defense of Little. Following are some of the actions held:

• **Oakland, California:** The Intercommunal Youth Center in East Oakland was packed with 400 people July 11. Called by the July 14 Committee to Free Joanne Little, the rally heard Angela Davis, cochairperson of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR); Jerry Paul, an attorney for Little; Alfonso Galloway, executive director of the Oakland NAACP; Elaine Brown of the Black Panther Party; Rashaad Ali of the Student Coalition Against Racism; William Tate, San Quentin Six defendant; and others.

• **Madison, Wisconsin:** Two hundred fifty people demonstrated in front of the Federal Building on July 14. The rally, initiated by the Madison Student

Coalition Against Racism, was endorsed by twenty-one organizations.

The protest was covered by all three Madison television stations.

• **Denver:** A noon rally on July 12 at the Community House, attended by 125 people, heard State Senators Regis Groff and Barbara Holmes; State Rep. Wellington Wedd; Eleanor Crowe of the Colorado Civil Rights Commission; Reba Garcia of the Crusade for Justice; Margy Stewart of NAARPR; Carole Newcomb of the Young Socialist Alliance; and others.

Also in Denver, seventy people picketed at the Federal Building on July 14.

• **Houston:** On Saturday, July 12, seventy people attended a Joanne Little defense meeting at Texas Southern University. Speakers included representatives of the Urban League and the Houston Student Coalition Against Racism. Ovide Duncantelle, a Houston Black civil rights activist currently fighting a police frame-up, also spoke.

• **St. Louis:** The Student Coalition Against Racism, St. Louis Feminist

Coalition of Washington University, Committee to Defend J.B. Johnson, NAARPR, Coalition of Labor Union Women, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Young Workers Liberation League, Congress of African People, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom all joined together for a demonstration in front of the St. Louis Municipal Courthouse on July 14.

• **Philadelphia:** Signs reading "Free Joanne Little, Save Her Life" were carried by picketers at city hall. The action was sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee to Defend Joanne Little.

• **Minneapolis:** Minnesotans to Free Joanne Little picketed the Federal Building on July 14. The 200 people heard speakers from Black Women United, the National Council of Negro Women, and the Minority Women's Task Force of the National Organization for Women.

• **Los Angeles:** About sixty people gathered at the county courthouse July 14. Television and radio stations

covered the pickets, who chanted "Free Joanne Little, stop the racist frame-up."

• **San Diego:** The Student Coalition Against Racism and the San Diego NOW chapter sponsored a picket line in front of the county courthouse July 14. One hundred seventy-five people participated in the action.

• **New York:** In addition to the rally of 600 on July 11 (see story above), 200 people marched from Herald Square to Union Square on Saturday, July 12, demanding freedom for Little.

On July 14, another 200 people picketed and rallied at the Harlem State Office Building. This action was sponsored by NAARPR, New York Student Coalition Against Racism, and other groups.

The New York Coalition of Labor Union Women held a benefit for Joanne Little on July 9. Attended by 250 people, the program included a showing of the film *Antonia*.

Picket lines in defense of Joanne Little were also held in Boston, Cincinnati, and Washington, D.C.

# Has the depression bottomed out?

By Dick Roberts

Where is the economy headed? A growing chorus is claiming that the depression is just about over. Writing in the June 29 *New York Times*, Soma Golden declared, "As predicted by [President Ford's] advisers and by most private economists, the wicked recession that has racked the United States from late 1973 to the present is about to disappear from the record books."

Three weeks later *Business Week* announced in its July 21 issue, "The recession is over—by general agreement if not yet by official decree."

But there is little hard evidence to support these claims. *Business Week's* own index of industrial production has leveled out since March but it is not rising.

While the overall unemployment rate did drop from 9.2 percent in May to 8.6 percent in June, *Business Week* declared, "The entire decline is attributable to statistical inadequacies" in government unemployment data. According to *Business Week*, "Joblessness among blue-collar workers is over 12%."

"In autos, the rate is almost 18%."

Overproduction in auto and construction were the main generators of the economic downswing. Both auto production and the construction of new housing and apartments have turned up since their lowest points, but they are still far below the 1973 levels when the crisis began.

According to the June 30 *Wall Street Journal*, the lowest point in housing starts was an annual rate of 880,000 in December 1974. It had risen to 1,126,000 in May. But it was 2,330,000 in May 1973.

For autos, the lowest point was reached in February 1975—an index level of 58.9, taking the 1967 output as the base of 100. Now the index level is 86.3, but in May 1973 it stood at 129.8.

*Business Week* admits that "the economic statistics are likely to be throwing off confusing signals during the summer months."

### Washington's central aim

While the economic indicators do not present a clear picture of the entire economy right now, one thing is very clear: High unemployment is continuing and it is going to continue for a long time. This remains Washington's central economic aim.

There are "nearly ten-million job-seeking and discouraged workers," Walter Heller, the former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, wrote in the June 30 *New York Times*.

Fully one-quarter of workers in the United States will be out of a job at

least once in 1975.

A *Times* report from Los Angeles, July 13, said that "thousands of jobless Americans—the first victims of the recession and the epidemic of layoffs that began with the Arab oil embargo late in 1973—are running out of the unemployment benefits that have kept them financially afloat until now."

"For the most part, they are workers who were the earliest of the expendables—the old, the young, and the least skilled—who are now likely to be among the last hired as the nation's faltering economy begins to recover."

If for "least skilled," the *Times* reporter had written, "women and Blacks," the picture would be even clearer. A full sixty-five weeks of minimal unemployment benefits (\$65 to \$100 a week in most cases) has been exhausted for hundreds of thousands of workers in the most oppressed sectors of society. They now must survive on welfare, if they are eligible, and with the help of their families.

Even when industrial production does begin to turn up, however, workers are not rehired on the same scale as before the layoffs. This is because the bosses have "trimmed the fat" of the labor force, as they like to put it, and they can speed up production with fewer workers, rapidly expanding their profits.

This is one of the factors propelling the upward climb of stock prices on Wall Street. Investors speculate on a sharp rise in profits once recovery actually does get under way.

### Polite questions

The White House has apparently reached agreement with the capitalist news media that the touchy question of massive unemployment will not be highlighted. In the president's most recent news conference, held in Chicago July 12, the reporter who came nearest to hinting that the president might take up economic matters, if he wanted to, asked Ford: "What do you consider your biggest personal accomplishment and failing as president?"

"We don't believe that an 8 percent or 9 percent rate of unemployment is acceptable," Ford said as part of his answer. "We're tailoring our domestic economic plans on reducing the rate of unemployment. And I believe that in the months ahead you'll see a moderation and certainly a decline in the next six to twelve months."

As vague as he was, the president was lying. It has become evident in the past several weeks that the administration is pursuing a policy of tightening the money supply and of driving up interest rates in order to prolong the



Despite government 'prosperity is around the corner' rhetoric, industrial production, while rising slightly, is still far below a year ago.

slump or to cool off a recovery if it gets started.

"The Federal Reserve confirmed to the money market this week that the long slide in short-term interest rates that began last September is over—for the foreseeable future," stated the July 21 *Business Week*.

Through operations in the money market, purchasing or selling U.S. Treasury bonds, the Federal Reserve Board can have a major influence on interest rates. By driving them up, the board can make it more expensive for corporations to borrow money, consequently forcing industry to hold back investment programs that would stimulate the economy.

Washington has returned to "tight money" policies because it remains the central aim of the American ruling class to keep unemployment high and to use the difficulty of getting jobs as a battering ram against wages.

Whether in the outright wage freeze of the "New Economic Policy," or in forcing unemployment way up and keeping it there (as is the Federal Reserve's policy today), the rulers of this country are trying to strengthen their position in international competition by holding down the wage levels and standard of living of American workers.

### Democratic party demagogery

It is nearing a presidential election year and some Democrats are demagogically using the high unemployment question against Ford. Walter Heller—a chief economic spokesperson for the Democrats—wrote in the article already cited, "The White House and the Federal Reserve authorities are greeting the early signs of modest recovery from this deepest of all postwar recessions as if prosperity were just around the corner, the hellfires of a new inflation were about to engulf us, and let the devil take the hindmost, the jobless."

By pretending that Ford's policies are basically anti-inflationary, rather than antilabor, Heller has already gone most of the way with the pretense upon which the White House strategy is based.

But in the second place—and this is well known to Walter Heller—any recovery will unleash new inflationary fires.

The prestigious Konstanzer Seminar of leading international economists and bankers, which met recently in Reichenau, Germany, warned that global deficit spending will cause "a renewed burst of price increases begin-

ning in mid-1976 that will make the 1973-74 episode of double-digit inflation look like price stability by comparison," according to the July 21 *Business Week*.

World capitalism, particularly the United States, has reached a point where in capitalist terms the only alternative to massive unemployment is spiraling inflation. And as long as they can get away with it, ruling classes will always choose the "solution" of unemployment rather than inflation because lower wages and lower prices make their goods more competitive in world trade.

### What Congress could do

But the emptiness of the Democrats' rhetoric is exposed by the fact that the Democratic party controls congress! If they have answers to the problem of layoffs, why don't they put them into practice?

There are much better ways of protecting the jobless than keeping interest rates down, which is the Democrats' pet proposal now. The Democratic majority in Congress could, for instance, pass a law enforcing an immediate reduction of the workweek to thirty hours with no reduction in pay. Congress could appropriate the funds for a massive public works program at union-scale wages, with top priority on rebuilding the ghettos and barrios and on providing jobs for Blacks and other minorities.

It could refuse to allocate another penny for war spending. Such a step would free billions for social welfare programs. At the same time it would eliminate the most wasteful, most dangerous, and most inflationary item in the federal budget.

Such measures would provide real protection for workers. But that is not what the Democrats have in mind. Their big job, especially in an election year, is to find phony issues that make it appear as though they are doing something for voters while allowing the White House to pursue the antilabor policies of the ruling class without any obstacles at all.

To return to the question raised at the outset about the direction the economy is headed, it is important to keep in mind that not only market factors, but the economic policies of the government, have to be taken into consideration. If the Ford administration is successful in carrying out its present antilabor policies—and the Democrats aren't stopping him—recovery is still a long way off.



Blacks and women—the last hired and first fired—are right up front in unemployment lines.

# Wis. prisoners protest superisolation units

By Michael DeForest

MADISON, Wis.—Prisoners at the maximum-security Wisconsin State Prison at Waupun went on a hunger strike in June to protest the construction of superisolation cells at the prison.

The eight cells, located beneath the basement of the segregation building of the prison, are nearing completion, and prisoners' apprehensions about their possible use are mounting. Each cell is wrapped by eight-inch concrete walls and equipped with audio-visual monitoring, double doors, individual thermostats with a range of 0 degrees to 100 degrees, and a sound system that is uncontrollable from inside. Fear that the cells would be used as "death chambers" or for psychological torture of prisoners sparked the hunger strike on Sunday, June 8.

The strike began in the segregation building itself. Within days it spread to the general population. At its peak, 250 prisoners were refusing all sustenance, and almost half of the more than 1,000 inmates were denying themselves nutrition in varying degrees.

The prisoners' struggle received extensive media coverage. This was due initially to a support demonstration held June 16 in front of the office of the Division of Corrections and the chambers of the Federal District Court for Western Wisconsin, both of which

are located in Madison. The demonstration of about thirty people represented several organizations and was called by Prisoners for Survival and the Prisoners Union. It received media coverage statewide and precipitated a spate of denials by state officials regarding the characterization of the cells as "death chambers."

Reporters seeking to interview striking inmates were denied access to the prison and were falsely informed by the warden that the strike had ended. It finally did end at the end of June, with the demand unfulfilled.

The fight to stop construction of the underground cells has not ended, however. On July 2, a forum on "The Prison Revolt: Waupun" sponsored by the Madison Young Socialist Alliance was held on the University of Wisconsin campus.

Addressing the meeting were Linda Hoelzer, a leader of Prisoners for Survival, and Bill Clayton, an ex-inmate of the Federal Penitentiary at Terre Haute, Indiana. Clayton is now Milwaukee chairperson of the YSA.

Clayton, who became a socialist while in prison, spoke on the injustice of the American legal system. He called for a showing of visible support for prisoners' struggles as the best way to help them better their conditions and to break down the wall of secrecy that surrounds prisons.

# Denver racists call for textbook censorship

By Rich Feigenberg

DENVER—"We came to California long before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock. We settled California and all of the southwestern United States, including the states of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and Texas. We built missions and we cultivated the ranches.

"We were at the Alamo in Texas, both inside and outside. You know, we owned California—that is, until gold was found there.

"I think it was a mistake to let you into the southwestern states because eventually you took away our lands. When we fought to retain what was ours, you used the vigilantes to scare us away, to hang us and to take away our lands. We became your slaves."

Racist? Yes, according to leaders of the Community Association for Neighborhood Schools (CANS), the Denver affiliate of the racist Restore Our Alienated Rights (ROAR) group.

Naomi Bradford, a leader of CANS who was elected this May to the Denver School Board, said, "I personally will work until my dying breath to get this thing out of the schools."

The passage above is from a book entitled *Personal Values*, which is being considered for use in seventh-

grade social studies classes.

CANS has been using the slogan "Neighborhood schools" and opposition to "forced busing" as smoke-screens for their racist attacks on the rights of Blacks and Chicanos to equal education. At a meeting July 7, the *Rocky Mountain News* reported, these "neighborhood school" advocates also came out for censoring textbooks used in the schools and adopted a position of virulent opposition to bilingual-bicultural education in the public schools.

The Colorado legislature this year passed a bill putting up \$2.4 million for bilingual-bicultural educational programs in schools throughout the state. Bradford made clear where CANS stands: "I look for that to become as big an issue in our schools as busing is."

"We are Americans first, last, and foremost. English is our language," State Rep. Sam Zachem told the meeting. "Are your children going to be forced to study Spanish, a foreign language, in their own country?"

Or rather, he should have continued, are we going to force Chicano students to study English, a foreign language for many of them?



December 14, 1974, antiracist march in Denver. Colorado racists have now launched campaign against busing and bilingual education and for textbook censorship.

# Women's caucus backs Mpls. SWP candidates

By Jane Van Deusen

In an unprecedented move, the Hennepin County Women's Political Caucus endorsed two of the five Socialist Workers party candidates for office in the upcoming municipal elections in Minneapolis.

Mary Hillery, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor, and Holly Harkness, SWP candidate for school board, were those endorsed.

In endorsing Hillery, Jeanne Johnson, chairwoman of the caucus said, "We were impressed with Mary's total support for women's rights; her unconditional support for a woman's right to control her own reproductive functions. We were also impressed with her program for fighting racism and her party's position on the police."

The caucus refused endorsement to the Democratic incumbent mayor,



Mary Hillery, socialist candidate for mayor of Minneapolis, won endorsement of Hennepin County Women's Political Caucus.

Albert Hofstede, because of his poor stand on women's issues and his opposition to a woman's right to abortion.

Both Hillery and Harkness were endorsed by a general membership meeting of the HCWPC. In a letter sent out after the endorsement, the caucus explained its endorsement of Harkness. The letter stated, "We were moved by your concern for the needs of young women and minority students, by your determination to eliminate sexism and racism from the public schools and by your commitment to the principles of feminism as embodied in the Socialist Workers Party platform."

The major media in the city have reported the endorsements and the caucus is beginning its active support of the socialist candidates.

Jeanne Johnson told the campaign committee, "We want people to know who we support in this election. We will door-knock for Mary and Holly. We will pass out campaign literature. We will help petition to put Mary's name on the ballot. We will also encourage our members to donate and raise funds towards your elections, and the caucus steering committee may vote to contribute money to your campaign from our treasury."

Both Hillery and Harkness consider the HCWPC endorsement an important step in their campaigns. The SWP campaign in Minneapolis is looking forward to working with the Women's Political Caucus in gaining support for the Socialist Workers candidates and platform.

# Chi. UFW demands Jewel respect boycott

By Tom O'Brien

CHICAGO—More than 150 United Farm Workers supporters picketed and rallied in front of a Jewel food store here July 5 to demand that Jewel stop selling scab lettuce and grapes and Gallo wines.

The rally was chaired by David Martinez, director of the Chicago boycott campaign. Among those speaking were Milwaukee civil rights activist Rev. James Groppi; Rev. Gene Boutellier, a longtime UFW activist from Racine, Wisconsin; and Roberto Acuña, a UFW member who has been conducting a fast in front of a Jewel store to dramatize the union's demands against that company.

Boutellier began the rally with a militant speech urging union supporters to continue the boycott and not slacken their efforts in light of the partial victory represented by the recently enacted California farm labor act. "The legislation does not give us strength," he said, "the union gives us strength."

Acuña has been a farm worker for many years, and joined the UFW in 1970 in Salinas, California, during the lettuce strike there. In an interview, he explained the background to the UFW's action.

On June 12, UFW representatives met with Jewel food stores President Harry Beckner and with Patricia Larson from the K.K. Larson ranch of Coachella, California. "We challenged Mrs. Larson to hold an immediate secret-ballot election," Acuña said, but "Mrs. Larson refused to hold elections because she said she was afraid the UFW would win." Beckner went along with that position, claiming his company "does not have the right to unilaterally impose our judgments for that of the customers."

On June 18, the union presented a Jewel stockholders' meeting in New York with petitions signed by 37,000 consumers in the Chicago area, but the company again refused to honor the boycott.

On June 21, Acuña began the fast to dramatize the union's demands. He said his goal was "to educate the public" and "to put economic pressure on Jewel." The launching of the fast was accompanied by a picket of 200 UFW supporters at the store, and since then picket lines of 25 to 40 people have been organized twice a day, at lunchtime and during the evening.

The store where these have been held is located halfway between two campuses of the University of Illinois, and many of the customers are students. In addition, many more come from nearby Black and Chicano communities.

UFW officials estimate the union has the support of 90 percent of the customers. There have been cases, for example, of people taking back to the store lettuce and grapes that they had bought after receiving a leaflet telling them about the boycott.

The UFW has also received support from other trade unionists. On July 2, the lunchtime picket line was a labor-support demonstration of forty people, including members of the American Federation of Teachers, Service Employees International Union, United Electrical Workers, United Steelworkers, Teamsters, Amalgamated Meat Cutters, and Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Jewel is the biggest food-store chain in the Chicago area. Jewel Companies, Inc., also owns major interests in chains in the Rocky Mountain states, downstate Illinois, and New England, as well as in Italy and Belgium.

## Portuguese junta's plan

# Left-wing demagogic, capitalist dictatorship



Portuguese troops at offices of socialist newspaper 'República.' Junta's take-over of that paper was part of drive to establish outright military dictatorship.

The following article is from the News Analysis section of Intercontinental Press.

By Gerry Foley

The "people's grass-roots democracy" plan adopted by the Assembly of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) on July 8 does not reflect a "radicalization" of Portugal's ruling military group as has been suggested by some bourgeois journalists, the Stalinists, and various confused elements on the left.

The move in reality represents an escalation of the offensive by the military to roll back the democratic freedoms won by the masses following the overturn of the Caetano government. It is a scheme to impose tight controls over the entire mass movement. It would convert the mass organizations into brakes upon further development of the revolutionary process. The plan was adopted under the pressure of a deepening economic crisis and the advance of a new wave of strikes, in nationalized industry in particular.

### Military straitjacket

This step toward imposition of a military straitjacket constitutes striking evidence of the inability of the Portuguese ruling class to defend capitalism within the framework of bourgeois democracy. As the political representatives of a weak and battered imperialist bourgeoisie, besieged by a socialist-minded mass movement at home and explosive liberation movements in the colonies, the leaders of the Armed Forces Movement have resorted to the most extravagant demagogic to disguise a scheme that, if applied, would give the government even more extensive control over the society than that exercised by the Salazar regime. It constitutes a charter for interfering immediately in all existing organizations of the workers and toiling masses for the purpose of subordinating them to the will of a bourgeois bonapartist junta.

The military leaders have been able to count not only on the Communist party, which is acting in accordance with Moscow's policies in applying the détente in Western Europe, but on left-centrist and ultraleft groups that are opposed to Stalinism. These groups have made such a fetish of "rank-and-file organizing" and "direct initiatives" that they have lost sight of the current key political issues in Portugal. They have forgotten such vital questions as what class is ruling the country, what class the coalition government actually represents, and how the masses of workers must be educated politically if they are to win power.

The military has granted these left-centrist and

ultraleft groups forms of organization tailored to look like the "soviet" and "people's power" they were calling for. But instead of heralding a new, more democratic, socialist society, the military's adoption of these purportedly miraculous formulas threatens to set up a stifling prison for the masses.

The fundamental principle of the plan is the institutionalization and perpetuation of a military dictatorship. The Communist party is well aware of this, but accepts it as the best available variant, and is grateful for the assignment given to it by the military of maintaining "order" in the labor movement and running the regime's propaganda apparatus. The CP's "success" amounts to recognition by the military of its "loyalty" in performing these reactionary functions.

At the same time, this very "success" precludes the possibility of the Stalinists winning deepgoing support from the majority of the workers and the poor masses.

The CP's material interests as an opportunist, bureaucratic organization have thus become wrapped up with maintaining the military regime at all costs. That is why the CP leaders have not hesitated to attack the exercise of democratic rights and to appear as champions of totalitarian forms of rule. And that is one of the reasons why the military junta has tolerated, used, and promoted the Stalinists. The junta has found that under the present conditions in Portugal, the forms of political democracy stand in the way of subordinating the masses effectively to their bourgeois objectives.

Unlike the monolithic CP, the Socialist party, despite its equally class-collaborationist and opportunist line, was unreliable from the military's point of view. It was too loosely organized, too heterogeneous, and vulnerable to pressure from below. Its perspectives, electoralist to be sure, depended on being popular with the masses. Its special selling point was to offer "socialism with liberty."

Thus, the SP stood in the way of the objectives of both the military and the CP. The attempts of the SP to play an autonomous role had to be ended.

### Attack on SP

The attack on the SP began with the Trade-Union Unity Law in January, which made it illegal for the Social Democrats to try to go around the government-supported, Stalinist-controlled union federation.

The decree was made necessary by a series of defeats of Stalinist officials in union elections. In effect, the military went to the defense of their hard-pressed labor policemen. This also confirmed the

dependence of the CP on the military to maintain its position in the labor movement. And it paved the way for imposing military control over all aspects of the mass movement, as the "people's grass-roots democracy" plan in fact now proposes.

It was in this struggle that the military and the Stalinists tested the technique that became a well-oiled operation in the closing of *República*, the daily that reflected the SP's views. The SP was trying to "divide" the workers on behalf of American imperialism, they alleged. They called on the workers to demonstrate in support of "working-class unity" and Portuguese independence.

The struggle over *República* also brought the ultraleft and left-centrist groups into a de facto alliance with the Stalinists against the SP that reached its culmination in the latest crisis, marked by the departure of the SP leaders from the coalition government.

### Constituent Assembly

Like the Stalinists, the ultraleft and left-centrist groups were opposed to holding elections for the Constituent Assembly. They viewed the elections as an obstacle to "radicalization" under the aegis of the military. Both currents regarded the big SP victory in the elections as a victory for the right, and therefore for the West European bourgeoisie and American imperialism.

The ultralefts were quick to seize on the *República* confrontation as a way of discounting the elections and putting the "rightist" Constituent Assembly out of commission.

Actually, the April 25 elections, in which 91 percent of the population over the age of eighteen voted, reflected the extreme political weakness of the bourgeoisie in Portugal. In these conditions, the workers parties won a substantial majority, perhaps for the first time in any country in Western Europe. Furthermore, the SP vote obviously was a reflection of this radicalization. Consequently the SP became even more subject to its pressures.

If the CP had been interested in establishing a government representative of the workers, it had only to base itself on the Constituent Assembly and call on the delegates there to act in accordance with the clear mandate given them by the voters. Instead of following this revolutionary course, the Stalinists preferred to lick the boots of the military. For this privilege they were willing to scuttle the Constituent Assembly, as well as trample on popular sovereignty and the democratically expressed will of the masses.

The ultralefts who supported the Stalinists in their attack on the Constituent Assembly displayed the same "antiparliamentarian cretinism" as the Spanish anarchists whom Trotsky denounced in the period following the fall of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, a situation very similar to that opened up by the fall of Caetano in Portugal.

In the take-over of *República*, the Stalinists and the military were able to turn the political confusion and blindness of these groups to good account in mounting their attack on the SP. Ultraleftists may have even played the role of prime dupes in the seizure. Certainly they supported it to the hilt.

### 'Socialist' rhetoric

The military were evidently divided on how far the attack should be pushed. Should they go further than silencing *República* for the moment? Should they draw back temporarily? They proceeded cautiously in their foray, testing the ground in their attack on the democratic rights of the masses and not forgetting to maintain a heavy smoke screen of "socialist" demagogic.

On such a course there was no returning after a certain point. If the objective was not won, the military regime would be destroyed. All the currents in the Armed Forces Movement now appear to have agreed on taking this gamble.

The military is counting heavily on the confusion sowed by the ultraleft; in particular, the anarchist concept that the masses can build their own governing bodies without confronting the question of who holds political power and without building a revolutionary party.

The new antidemocratic turn by the military has increased the possibility of a reversal of the revolutionary process in Portugal. Were revolutionaries to support this government, they would play into the hands of the right and be dragged to inevitable ruin along with the opportunist allies of the MFA.

The July 8 plan shows with crystal clarity that the MFA is the political apparatus of the bourgeoisie and the most immediate enemy of the workers and the revolutionary movement.

## 'People's assemblies' a fraud

# Portugal: coalition gov't breaks up as

By Gerry Foley

From Intercontinental Press

On July 8, the Assembly of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA—Movimento das Forças Armadas) approved a plan for "people's grass-roots democracy" guided and supervised by the military. On July 10, the day following the announcement of the plan in the press, the Stalinist-controlled union federation, Intersindical, held a demonstration in support of the ruling military group.

On July 11, the take-over of the Lisbon daily *República*, whose editorial policy was formerly controlled by the SP, was confirmed. An editorial board made up of the "workers committee" that seized the paper and an officer appointed by the military government began publishing the daily with a new editorial line. The first issue "under new management" said nothing about the SP's protests against the military group's latest measures but rather played up the Intersindical demonstration, with a headline in red ink: "United Workers and Soldiers Demonstrate Together."

### Socialists Withdraw

On July 11, the Socialist party ministers announced their withdrawal from the government. The reason given was the take-over of *República*. The SP complained that while the Revolutionary Council and the Press Council had decreed that the paper should be returned to its editors, and the president of the republic had promised this, these commitments had not been carried out. The statement said that "the alliance between Portuguese political forces" could not be maintained unless pledges were kept.

This formulation also suggested criticism of the "people's grass-roots democracy" project, since this seemed to be a unilateral abrogation of the "pact-program" agreement between the military rulers and the capitalist and reformist parties signed before the April 25 Constituent Assembly elections. In subscribing to this accord, the parties in effect granted the military the right to retain all fundamental powers of government, while the military agreed to permit the forms of parliamentary rule, including elections. The SP suggested that the government's failure to honor its pledges reflected a breakdown in legal authority.

The military officers and the Communist party have also stressed the need for "reinforcing authority" and it



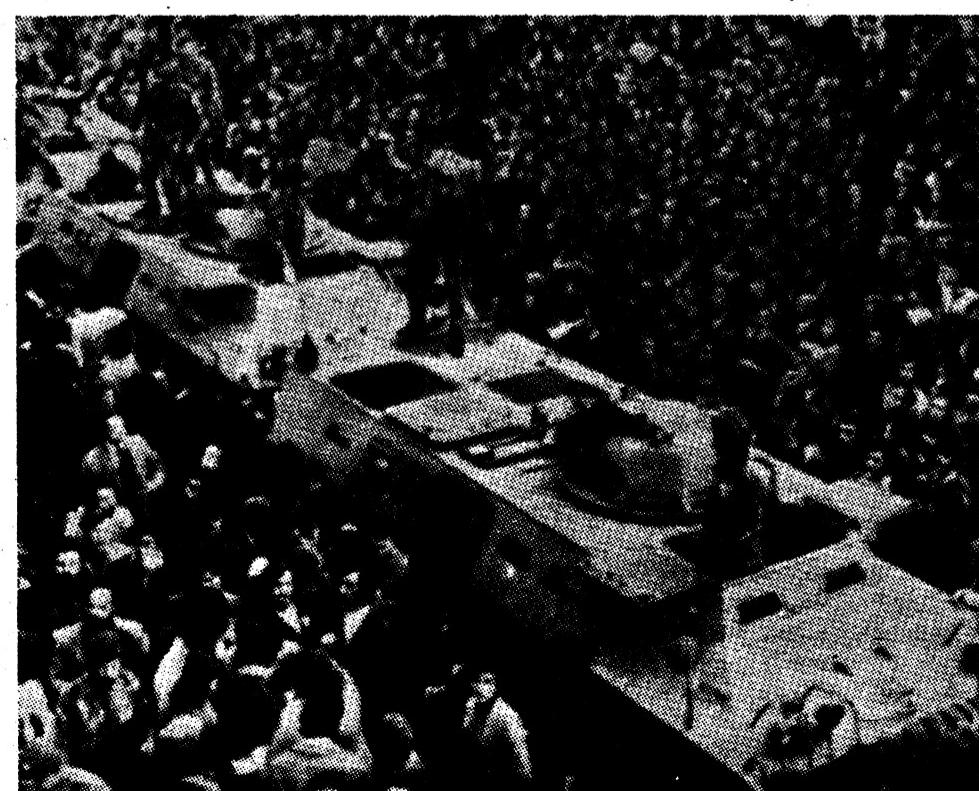
'Welcome to our new organs of direct democracy . . . heh, heh.'

seems apparent that they are determined to do so in a way that will deny the SP any room for political self-defense or free political expression, and may even end in abrogation of its legal existence.

The SP also made an implicit appeal for support from the Western "democracies," in particular the influential Social Democratic parties, in accusing the military of wanting to set up a Stalinist dictatorship in Portugal.

### Capitalists Weigh the Options

The Western capitalist press and government representatives have used the CP's antidemocratic maneuvers for all they were worth to discredit socialism and encourage fears of "Communism" and the Soviet Union. They may use this to justify intervention or supporting a rightist coup if they think the upsurge of the workers and poor masses in Portugal is getting out of hand. But it is not likely that they will intervene or bring their pressure to bear simply for the sake of the SP and still less for "democracy."



Mass mobilization foiled right-wing coup attempt last March. Leaders of Armed Forces Movement want masses to stay out of politics.

In fact, the military seem to have decided to end the existing coalition and perhaps dump the popular-front Provisional Government altogether. The Socialists did not resign. They only announced their intention to stop functioning as ministers until they got some satisfaction in the *República* case. However, on July 12 the Revolutionary Council instructed Premier Vasco Gonçalves to replace the SP ministers with "competent and patriotic people who place national interests above party interests," as Henry Giniger summarized it in a dispatch in the July 13 *New York Times*.

"The Communists began a campaign through their local sections and the unions they control to end the Government coalition and to dissolve the Constitutional Assembly, where they hold only a minority position," Giniger reported in a July 11 dispatch.

The Stalinists have said before that if the CP left the government, a coalition would not be viable, and in that case a purely military government would be acceptable to them. This is probably their perspective now. Moreover, they have undoubtedly recognized the meaning of the military's choice, which left even an opportunist electoral politician like Soares no alternative but to risk a break with the military and threaten to mobilize masses in demonstrations against the government.

### Governmental Scheme

The governmental scheme adopted by the Assembly of the Armed Forces Movement on July 8 includes formulations attractive both to the Communist party and to the left-centrist and ultraleft currents following in the footsteps of the treacherous leaders of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism. These currents have been drawn in behind the charismatic strongman, General de Carvalho, who has used them as a political cover in his drive to establish a "nonparty" military dictatorship.

In fact, while it is larded with demagogic designed to appeal to these two tendencies, each of which for its own purposes has blocked with the military against the Socialist party and popular suffrage, the scheme proposes a system of totalitarian mili-

tary dictatorship that can prove distinctively "unhealthy" for both.

While this elaborate scheme is unlikely ever to be fully applied, any more than was the complex dual government outlined in the "pact-program," it does establish some principles and procedures quite clearly. Its basic meaning is the same as the former "guide document." The military is boss. The new document just carries this principle further, stipulating that the military is the supreme arbiter and will rule society directly, reaching down to the local, factory, and neighborhood levels.

Among other things, the adoption of this scheme shows the suicidal character of the SP's class-collaboration policy, since the plan is not only a logical extension of the "pact-program" that the SP signed but of the June 21 "Program of Political Action," which the SP hailed as an affirmation of democracy and "pluralism."

### A Regime Like Salazar's

Leaving aside what the document says about its more distant goals, the immediate proposals are reminiscent of corporatism, similar to the system in force under Salazar but actually more thoroughgoing. It leaves no room even for the formal national elections that Salazar permitted following the defeat of the fascist powers in World War II. After all, like Salazar and Caetano, the ruling military group has just had its fingers burned by an election that it intended to be purely formal in character.

The only "people's assemblies" envisioned at the moment are local ones. No "people's grass-root organizations" will be allowed to federate until the military decides the time is ripe. Furthermore, the military will decide whether to "recognize" all such organizations, and recognition will depend on its evaluation of their activity.

While the military pledges to encourage the formation of workers and tenants committees where they do not as yet exist, it also stipulates that the existing committees must be "broadened" to carry out the tasks set for such organizations. These tasks include "political work through educating and informing sections of workers or the population," and "strengthening the alliance between the people and the MFA" as "a constant activity." The MFA itself will be the judge of whether these tasks are carried out, and presumably this will determine which "grass-roots people's organizations" are "recognized" and which are not.

Not only does this eliminate the independence of any groups that are set up, it empowers the government to begin interfering immediately in the embryonic factory and neighborhood organizations that do exist. Any organization that develops spontaneously to meet the needs of a group of workers or the poor masses is required, according to point 3.1, to affiliate to "recognized" structures and adjust its composition and activity to meet the "tasks" and standards set by the military.

This provision carries the attack on freedom of association begun with the "Trade-Union Unity Law" to the point of totalitarianism. Even the most elementary forms of mass organization can be diluted and packed to suit the purposes of the military government.

This system recalls Caetano's semi-corporatist union setup in a specific aspect. The factory and neighborhood groups may be "representative" to a certain extent, but as soon as these groups begin to federate, government representatives enter directly into the picture. The local "people's assemblies" are to include representatives of

# junta unveils plan for military rule

the local government authorities. The municipal people's assemblies are to include representatives of military units. In the district "people's assemblies," the military unit commander must be included. In the regional "people's assemblies," the head of the regional military command must be included.

The representatives of local government authorities include appointed officials, such as members of planning boards, who have "right to voice, vote, and to introduce resolutions."

Moreover, all military representatives in these various "people's assemblies" must be representatives of the MFA as a whole and not chosen by the military personnel to represent any specific political platform. This scheme specifically incorporates the Program of Political Action, which stipulates: "No political-military organizations outside the MFA will be permitted in the armed forces, whether they represent parties or not, since all military personnel must gradually be integrated into their own movement."

## Behind the Rhetoric

The "people's government" scheme implicitly defines the character of the MFA as representative of the military hierarchy, when it stipulates that the unit and regional commanders must be included in the district and regional "people's assemblies." This is also implied by the reference to "gradually" integrating military personnel into the MFA. This converts the lower bodies of the MFA itself into transmission belts for the top group of officers. It also makes the MFA into an elite and not a voluntary political association or a representative body. In fact, the role of representative elections in the selection of members of the MFA bodies is very limited.

Actually the MFA is a junta with an expanded system of transmission belts and sounding boards. Full decision-making power, in any case, is vested in the Revolutionary Council. The Assembly is defined as a "deliberative" body and must reach a "consensus" in making its recommendations.

The role of workers organizations under this scheme is quite clear, since one of the basic goals is defined as "winning the economic battle," as the "battle of production" has been euphemistically renamed, and sweetened with a note that present production is "not sufficient to meet the overall needs of the country." Furthermore, since all "grass-roots people's organizations" are obliged to make "strengthening the alliance between the people and the MFA" a "constant activity," the function of these committees is now to enforce the government's economic policy.

## Airtight Military Rule

The whole record of the regime shows what the military rulers mean by this phrase about "strengthening the alliance between the people and the MFA," and that also holds for the MFA "purified" by the departure of openly rightist elements. In his speech celebrating the failure of the March 11 coup, Vasco Gonçalves included the strike of the TAP (Transportes Aéreos Portugueses, the Portuguese airline) workers as part of the "reactionary machinations" that allegedly prepared the way for the putsch.

Furthermore, the possibility of any organized opposition to the military rulers developing in these "people's organizations" is specifically ruled out by the provision that the "best guarantee" in assuring "unitary" character of these bodies and their "independence from all parties" is "the MFA, a



Hotel and restaurant workers demonstrate in Lisbon shortly after fall of old regime. Military is moving to tighten grip on workers movement.

movement standing above parties . . . and recognizing those organizations that by their activity merit recognition."

It is specifically set down, in addition, that all decisions of "people's organizations" will be taken by hand vote. In the May 15 metalworkers assembly in Lisbon, the military security forces clubbed the workers who tried to oppose a poor contract settlement imposed by a Stalinist group that has seized control of the union.

Although the "people's government" scheme theoretically grants powers to workers and people's bodies that would amount to creating a democratic workers state, although it says these bodies are to be "democratic," "independent," and "unitary," and although this structure is supposed to develop "in a correct class-struggle perspective," in its specific provisions this plan does not leave the slightest opening for independence, class struggle, or unity in action. It is an airtight system of military rule.

## Opposite of Soviets

The most pathetic illusion of those elements on the left drawn into supporting the military and the CP against the SP is that such a scheme will bring "working-class unity." In fact, it is founded on a denial of the political rights of a majority of the workers, that is, ganging up on the SP through an alliance of the CP, the left-centrist, and ultraleft groups with the bourgeois military caudillos. Its objective is to strip all workers of every political, trade-union, and human right. The peace it will bring in the struggle between the workers' parties can only be a peace of the grave.

For the SP is not simply the Soares leadership or an apparatus. It is all those workers and poor masses who are looking for socialist solutions but for one reason or another are skeptical of the military and the Stalinists.

This "people's government" bears no relationship whatsoever to workers democracy or soviets, despite the demagogic effort to make it appear so. It is exactly the opposite. Real soviets are organs of struggle and a workers united front in action. This is how Trotsky described the way they develop in a letter to the Spanish Left Opposition in 1931, a period similar to the one that has existed in Portugal since April 25, 1974: "Communists participate in all strikes, in all protests and demonstrations, arousing more and more numerous strata of the population. Communists are with the masses and at the head of the masses in every battle. On the basis of these battles, the communists put forward the slogan of the soviets, and at the first opportunity build soviets as the *organizations of the proletarian united front*. At the present stage, the soviets can be nothing else. But if they emerge as the combat organizations of the proletarian united front, then under the leadership of the communists they will inevitably become, at a certain stage, organs of insurrection and then organs of power."

Moreover, even if the MFA were a revolutionary workers leadership, such control as outlined in the plan would not be justifiable, since it would still be necessary to guarantee complete independence of the workers' economic organizations from the state.

Of course, the MFA is not such a leadership. Every move to the left,

including the recent belated agrarian reform, has been made under the pressure of workers mobilizations. The agrarian measure simply recognized the de facto situation and tried to impose legal limits on it.

"The land occupations in Alentejo date back to March or April," *Jornal Novo* said in its July 7 issue. "At that time people began thinking seriously about agrarian reform for the first time for the southern part of the country. But the avalanche of such occupations in recent days created a certain agitation in the region, causing some even to talk about Portuguese jacqueries." The present regime differs from the previous one in that it is prepared to ride this wave until the crisis is over. But this "people's government" scheme gives it greater possibilities for damming the upsurge.

## Intended to Disarm Masses

Nor can this structure be defended from the standpoint of the needs of mobilizing the masses to defend such gains from rightist coups or imperialist intervention. Its actual effect will be to disarm the masses against the right, since workers self-defense is completely subordinated to the MFA.

General de Carvalho was adamantly opposed to the vigilance groups that sprang up in September 1974 and defeated Spinola's first putsch. His position on this has evidently not changed with the "radicalization" of the regime, and now he is apparently ready to act to prevent such developments. Over the weekend of July 4, there were rumors of a move by more conservative officers to oust Vasco Gonçalves. "Alvaro Cunhal, the general secretary of the Portuguese CP, was called in by General Otelo de Carvalho," *Le Monde* reported July 9. "Carvalho told him that there 'must be no street demonstrations and barricades like there were in previous crises.'

One of the most striking things about the new document is the way it uses anarchist-type conceptions as a political cover for subordinating the organizations of the workers and toiling masses to the capitalist state.

The masses are supposed to assume power gradually as they build up their "rank and file" nonpolitical organizations.

In a news conference July 7, representatives of the "soviet" organization pushed by the Partido Revolucionário do Proletariado-Brigadas Revolucionárias, the grouping that first provided Carvalho with a political cover for his "antiparty" campaign, explained their perspectives as follows, according to a summary in the July 8 *Jornal Novo*:

"In a way, the formation of the Revolutionary Councils of Workers, Soldiers, and Sailors represents, according to the conception of its founders, a step beyond the stage of struggling for concessions into the stage of organizing. That is, these bodies are independent, nonparty organs of the working class designed to take power and exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat . . .

"As we organize," said a worker who took part . . . 'we are taking power.'

In fact, the essence of the CP proposal was incorporated in the plan. But the MFA leaders borrowed the notions of the neoanarchist left to integrate such committees, in which the CP would have a strong position, into a much larger scheme controlled directly by the military.

Thus both the neoanarchists and the CP got what they appeared to ask for but in a way that rather than giving them more political influence tied them tighter to the military's chariot.

# In Our Opinion

## Detente in the sky?

No one could fail to be impressed by the technological expertise and scientific accomplishment displayed in the joint United States-Soviet space mission this week.

Ten thousand miles apart, in Florida and Soviet Central Asia, giant rockets boosted the Apollo and Soyuz spacecraft into precise, predetermined orbits. Using the most advanced computers and sophisticated radar devices, the two craft are to rendezvous 140 miles above the earth while traveling at thousands of miles an hour.

Almost equally impressive is the global communications network that enables millions of people to watch the entire spectacle as it takes place. It is inspiring testimony to the whirlwind progress of science. The labor of hundreds of thousands of people can be organized and coordinated to carry out feats that only a few years ago seemed beyond imagining.

The achievement in the depths of space stands in jarring contrast to what television viewers saw on the remainder of the news broadcasts—the harsh realities we must live with every day. New famines in Africa. The threat of war. Millions unemployed. In New York and other cities, the closing of schools, hospitals, libraries, and museums for lack of funds.

Many must have wondered how Washington could spend a quarter of a billion dollars for one space flight while it refuses to appropriate funds to aid the jobless. Why, when modern technology can create a life-sustaining environment in the near-vacuum of outer space, can't it be applied to clean up the air and water on the face of our planet? Why can't the organization and knowledge that can take astronauts to the moon be directed toward making our everyday lives more secure and livable?

Why, as humankind gains mastery over the forces of nature, does it fall victim to blind, anarchic social forces that condemn the majority of the world's population to poverty and degradation?

Under capitalism, the achievements of science are perverted to inhuman ends—to profit-making at the expense of human needs, to destruction of the environment, and to the preparation of fiendish weapons capable of exterminating all life.

The U.S. space program has from the very start been aimed primarily at perfecting the technology for war: spy satellites, powerful missiles, and guidance systems for delivery of nuclear warheads. *For Washington, the precision of the maneuvers in space means above all the potential to hurl bombs with equal precision to any spot on the globe.*

The joint U.S.-Soviet space mission is supposed to be a tribute to the success of détente. "I am confident," President Ford told the astronauts, "your efforts and example will lead to further cooperation between our two countries."

This is the same Ford who barely two weeks ago made a point of refusing to rule out a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union! It is the same Ford who has been orchestrating a campaign of press leaks about his readiness to use nuclear weapons even in "minor incidents" that challenge U.S. imperialist interests.

As Ford and Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin watched the launching together, the television cameras did not focus on the black box that always accompanies the president—the box containing the codes to unleash a nuclear holocaust.

Stalinist bureaucrat Dobrynin claimed that the space mission is "a real demonstration of possibilities to reach agreements and to solve vital problems."

But no agreements, no talk about peaceful cooperation, no public relations extravaganzas like the joint space mission can solve the "vital problem" of stopping U.S. imperialism from using its armed might to enforce exploitation and oppression at home and abroad. That task will require the mobilization of the working people of the world in their own interests—a mobilization the Stalinists block and betray in the name of "détente," just as they are doing in Portugal today.

Only when the masses of people break the grip of the parasitic capitalist minority and take economic and political power into their own hands will the threat of wars and nuclear annihilation be ended. In that bright socialist future, humanity will harness the power of science to abolish hunger and want on earth, provide material abundance and security for all—and proceed to explore the wonders of the universe.

# Letters

### For a closer look

Recently I picked up a copy of the Nation of Islam's newspaper, *Muhammad Speaks*. Besides a great deal of religious doctrine, the paper contains a remarkable amount of information on world and U.S. events. There are articles on everything from anticolonial movements to tenant struggles and antidrug campaigns. The July 11 issue even contains an interview with Socialist Workers party candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.

Though it's hard to tell from just looking at the paper, it seems as though the Muslim movement presents a contradictory character. On the one hand it is dedicated to extensive reforms *within* the system. On the other, it is highly sympathetic to struggles which call the capitalist system into question.

The Nation of Islam is clearly a movement with a deep influence in the Black communities of several U.S. cities. Would it be possible for the *Militant* to present a closer look at what the Muslims stand for? It would be especially interesting to learn how this movement has evolved since the days of Malcolm X, who left it in 1964 with severe political disagreements.

S.C.  
Amherst, Massachusetts

the news is printed. It is certainly a beautiful way to get the real news to the people undoctored as the others fail to do.

The Socialist Workers party has meaningful goals for the masses of people who are most in need. Congratulations for a well-done job.

The issues I have read were a friend of mine's who is also incarcerated here. If there is any way possible, please add me to your list of subscribers.

A prisoner  
Oklahoma

### Helping us get around

While out selling the *Militant* recently I met an ex-prisoner who said he read "the *Militant* all my 400 days in the box" and asked that a subscription be sent to a friend he left up there.

I am sending the dollar for that subscription and two dollars for two additional subscriptions. He told me it is a real fight to get the paper, that it is arbitrarily kept from the inmates whenever the prison officials feel like it.

Just on the basis of Baxter Smith's superb writing, I am eager for the *Militant* to get around.

Martha Harris  
Brooklyn, New York

[The *Militant*'s special Prisoner Fund makes it possible for us to send complimentary or reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.]

### Looking forward

After living in such a blatantly fascist country as Spain for the past three years, I am looking forward to receiving your introductory offer of one dollar for two months of the *Militant*. Please find enclosed a check. Thanks. F.T.

Cambridge, Massachusetts

### Suppression in the military

I read the *Militant* and found it to be well worded and moving in many cases. However, I was surprised that there were no articles making any mention of the suppression of individuals within the military. Many highly illegal activities take place here, without the knowledge or apparent concern of anyone on the outside.

Among the activites that go on are:

1) The misappropriation of funds so that they can be used for the comfort and enjoyment of officers, senior noncommissioned officers, and their dependents.

2) The open suppression of individuals who have the intelligence to question or speak out, through officers, NCO's, military police, Criminal Investigation Detachment, and military intelligence.

3) Individuals are put in the psychiatric ward and drugged into mindless inactivity.

4) Individuals are confined and beaten sadistically to make them "shape up." In some cases the individuals die accidentally and records have to be illegally altered to fit the accident.

I realize that this letter may be summarily filed and may not bring even the slightest aid, since there are a multiple number of injustices being committed today in our nation.

Irregardless, I felt obligated to myself and others to write this letter.

A GI  
Kentucky

### Kindergarten cuts

Some weeks ago I read in the *Militant* [July 4 issue] that the cutbacks in New York City include cutting out some kindergarten classes. It was horrifying to me to think that they would even consider taking away kindergarten, which has come to be accepted as an important first step in any child's education.

Is all kindergarten being cut out? I would appreciate any further news you could carry in the *Militant* on this aspect of the cutbacks.

B.S.  
Chicago, Illinois

[In reply—The situation is still unclear. The recently adopted New York City budget specifies the total amount of money cut from the schools, but it is up to the central school board and to some extent the community school boards to decide exactly what programs will go.

[When the cut in funding was first announced, the school board said it would mean the closing of *all* kindergarten classes. But the public will not actually find out until school opens in the fall exactly what programs have been eliminated.]

### Chile picket

Thirty-five people participated in a U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners picket line July 9 in San Diego.

The picket was held at San Diego State University, outside a meeting being addressed by Ernesto Wilson, consul general of Chile. The meeting was part of a summer-long series entitled "Inflation: Democracy's Challenge."

The action was called to protest the

### Subscription request

I have been reading the *Militant* for the past two or three months and I really enjoy the straightforward way

# La Lucha Puertorriqueña

José Pérez



## A welcome clarification

the radical movement followed the FALN action.

Compañero Alvarez uses the example of the FALN bombings on the eve of the October 27 Madison Square Garden rally to illustrate many of the points made by Lenin about such terrorist activities.

He points out that the value of the rally was "that it was the most massive expression of support for our struggle ever seen in this country." But the FALN bombs "caused many people not to attend the rally" and "opened the way for the mass media to highlight the explosions, instead of conveying the rally's massiveness."

He adds that "the FALN jeopardized the rally itself," because it could have given the government a pretext to unleash a wave of repression and the owners of the Garden a pretext to cancel the activity.

With good reason, Alvarez emphasizes Lenin's conclusion that terrorism "disorganizes, not the government forces, but those of the revolution."

Alvarez states: "The Puerto Rican Socialist Party believes Lenin's words apply perfectly to the reality of the Puerto Rican revolutionary movement in the United States at this moment."

This clarification is particularly welcome because in the past, the PSP's position has not been so clear. For example, last December *Claridad* gave favorable coverage to an FALN reprisal for the police murder of a militant Puerto Rican artist, conveying the impression that the PSP considered the FALN action in that case a correct one.

Moreover, *Claridad* in Puerto Rico has favorably reported on actions that, in my opinion, parallel those of the FALN. This was the case, for example, last December when Nelson Rockefeller's visit to the colony was marked by several bombings.

Apparently, the FALN bombings after last December prompted the U.S. branch of the PSP to further reflect on, and take a position against, the terrorist tactics of the FALN. It would be useful if compañero Alvarez could take up in a future article how the PSP now views FALN-type tactics on the island itself.

lack of democracy and the continued repression in Chile. The most popular chants were "Free all Chilean political prisoners" and "Presos políticos, libertad." The loud chants of the picketers were effective in raising the issue of political prisoners to the meeting.

After about thirty minutes the chairperson announced that the meeting would be moved to a more secluded room, away from the picket, ostensibly because a bomb threat was received. However, participants reported that the building was not evacuated and the police were not called in.

*Mike Zarate  
San Diego, California*

### Wrapped up

If possible, I would like to have the *Militant* mailed to me in a wrapper. This is not because I am afraid of the CIA (who probably wouldn't be deterred by a wrapper anyway), but because I live with some rather uptight people who would be disturbed at seeing this paper in their mailbox.

*A.R.  
New York, New York*

[We will send wrapped copies to subscribers who live with uptight people or who for any other reason want their copies wrapped. This service costs two dollars a year in addition to the regular subscription price.]

### Correction

This letter is to correct an error in the July 11 *Militant* article on police terror in Cleveland. The June 21 protest meeting was not sponsored by the NAACP as reported. This meeting of 250 was called by friends and relatives of Derrick Browne, one of the two Black men recently murdered by the Cleveland police.

The NAACP protest meeting, held June 30, was attended by about seventy-five people. Speakers at this meeting included James Stallings, executive director of the Cleveland NAACP; Gloria Adams, Derrick Browne's mother; and Mark Friedman, coordinator of the Ohio Student Coalition Against Racism.

*Shirley Pasholk  
Cleveland, Ohio*

### A word in praise

A word or two in praise of the *Militant*. I've read the *Militant* for a year and a half and was sales director in the Louisville Young Socialist Alliance local for several months. I really appreciate the professionalism that goes into the paper.

It's obvious that the people involved with all aspects of producing the *Militant* are serious about what they're doing. Compared to other movement papers—well, there's no comparison. The *Militant* is infinitely superior.

*Amy Husk  
Cleveland, Ohio*

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

The Puerto Rican Socialist party has made a welcome clarification of its attitude toward individual acts of terrorism carried out by small groups of individuals in isolation from the masses. The PSP's position is explained in the "Here we stand" column of the June 29 U.S. weekly edition of *Claridad*, newspaper of the PSP. The column is a full-page article titled "The actions of FALN," by José Alberto Alvarez.

The FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña—Puerto Rican Armed Forces of National Liberation) is a mysterious group that has gained public attention in the last several months by publicly taking credit for bombings, supposedly in support of independence. The most spectacular attack came last January when an FALN bombing of a New York City restaurant left four dead and scores wounded. Recently they also received quite a bit of publicity for two explosions in Chicago that went off only hours before a scheduled Puerto Rican Day parade.

Pointing out that terrorism "has been the subject of extensive debate in the revolutionary movement," compañero Alvarez cites Lenin as his authority for rejecting such tactics.

As is well known, Lenin opposed terrorism primarily because such actions are obstacles to organizing and mobilizing the working class in struggle to defend its own interests. Acts of terror tell people, in effect, that a small group of revolutionary saviors isolated from the masses will solve their problems for them.

In addition, such actions are ineffective. The damage done to the capitalists' holdings are usually negligible from the point of view of the vast amounts of wealth they possess. And if one or another cop, government functionary, or tyrant is eliminated, he or she is quickly replaced by another serving the same interests.

Moreover, such actions provide the cops with a convenient pretext to victimize all those fighting for social change. This was the case, for example, in Chicago, where stepped-up police harassment against

## By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



## 'The deepest scar'

*It was painful to be a slave. And we were wounded in that our culture and our language and our heritage and our identity was taken from us. We were deeply hurt and bled that our labor should be taken from us. It pained us that our families should be split, that we have no rights above the rights of animals. But the one wound that rankles deepest, that left the deepest scar, is that we were made bastards.—Playwright-actor Ossie Davis at the July 11 Joanne Little speak-out in New York City.*

"Unless you can fully realize the significance of what was meant to happen in that jail cell," Davis said at the speak-out, "what did not happen, and what did, you will not understand the most important elements of the Black experience in America."

Joanne Little, Davis said, "met the Great Bastardizer and she struck him down."

Actually, Little did not meet the Great Bastardizer. She met his grandson.

Little's mother, our mothers, and our mothers' mothers met the old man himself, many, many years ago. And today, as a result, America is gripped by the legacy of the Great Bastardizer and is populated by his offspring. Offspring, many of whom still aren't sure of their identity. Offspring who hold virtually no rights above the rights of animals.

Millions of Africans were brought to America against their will by the old man. Brought and made bastards.

But, perhaps, nowhere in America today has his legacy run deeper than in Latin America, an area where several countries have sizable Black populations.

This is the theme of an excellent article in the July *Black World* by Richard Jackson, titled "The Color Crisis in Latin America: 'Mestizaje' Vs. Black Identity."

Twenty years of struggle by Blacks in the United

States have forged a consciousness that didn't exist among them before. Most Blacks today no longer feel easy when they're called or treated like colored people or Negroes. They resent any pressure to act or look white. And they resent the Bastardizer's legacy.

In Latin American societies there is still a strong pressure on Blacks to assimilate into the Bastardizer's culture. Jackson cites the *blanqueamiento* (whitening) process, or pressure on darker Blacks to marry light to improve the family. He also cites the results of the Bastardizer's psychological legacy.

He tells of one story about a Black Brazilian economist who spent four months in a hospital after burning her skin while trying to bleach herself. The woman now goes around in a blond wig and with her face powdered white.

He found that there are phrases in various countries for Blacks with straight, or "good," hair. And he reports on one researcher who found in Brazil "how sorry people feel for a dark child when he is born of mixed parents."

These are some of the psychological results of the Bastardizer's legacy.

While there has not been a parallel Black awakening and general rejection of the Bastardizer's values in Latin America like there has been in the United States, over the years there has been resistance to white domination, and, according to Jackson, it is deepening.

In her jail cell that night, Little did not face the Bastardizer's legacy. She faced the actual advances of his grandson. Advances that our mothers' mother faced many, many nights ago when she heard the tramping through the woods of a man heading towards the slave's quarters from the big house. Our mothers' mother wept in fear when she heard that sound because she knew the Great Bastardizer was coming.

## N.Y. crisis: a balance sheet

# Why is New York City going broke?

By Andy Rose

(Second of a series)

NEW YORK—What lies behind the "budget crisis" that is now having such a devastating effect on New York residents and employees?

The city's rulers have their own story about who is to blame. It was spelled out in detail in a series of major *New York Times* editorials last May on the "State of the City."

The *Times* editors put forward the theory of what they termed the "profligate city." New York, they complained, "has been a pioneer in developing public services, particularly in the area of human welfare. This city has spent more per capita on public services than most other cities and has been almost unique in providing some services, such as its city university and hospital systems."

"The result," said the *Times*, "has been a relentless rise in city expenditures. . . . This is a game that cannot be played any longer. . . . The only realistic course is to cut spending to levels that the city can afford—and that means reducing personnel and services far more drastically than the Mayor has so far suggested, and clamping a lid on civil service wages and fringe benefits."

### 'Advanced consciousness'?

A former top city official quoted by the *Times* put it this way: "The great tragedy is that out of our advanced social consciousness we have gone so far in doing things for people through city government that we're now way beyond our means."

These pious explanations by mouthpieces for the city's wealthy elite are false to the core. The budget crisis is not fundamentally a New York problem, and it has nothing to do with "advanced social consciousness."

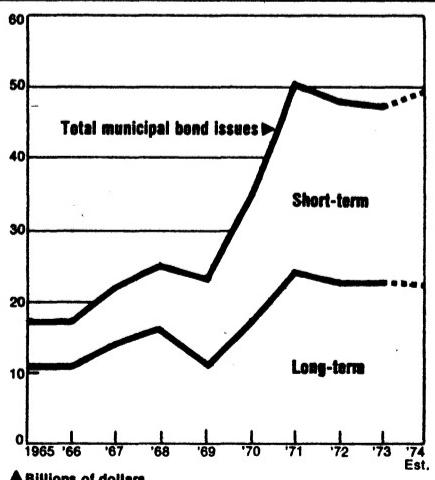
Its real roots are to be found in the worldwide profit drive of U.S. banks and corporations, the gigantic military expenditures of the federal government, and the racist oppression directed against Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

It is self-evident that the city faces a budget deficit because its expenses have risen faster than its revenues. But let's look more closely at why this has happened.

First, there has been a long-term decline in the city's tax base as industry and higher-paid white workers moved out. More than 250,000 manufacturing jobs were lost from 1963 to 1973, and another 45,000 in 1973-74. Over the past five years, the total number of jobs in the private sector in New York has dropped by nearly 400,000.

During the 1960s, the city's white population declined 12 percent, while the Black population increased 59

### The municipal bond market: More debt, more of it short



'Business Week' chart shows growth of municipal bond market—a source of tremendous enrichment for those who collect the tax-free interest payments.



percent. (The big influx of Puerto Ricans to New York came in the 1950s.) In the past several years large numbers of immigrants have also come from the West Indies and South and Central America.

Here the role played by racist oppression becomes crucial. Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Chinese, and other oppressed minorities that make up more and more of the city's population are relegated to lower-paying jobs and suffer a perpetually higher unemployment rate than the whites who move out.

It is the pervasive racist discrimination in American society that is to blame for the large welfare rolls, poverty, degradation, drug trade, and high crime rates that characterize the decaying central cities.

Some gains were won by the Black and Puerto Rican communities in New York and other cities through the struggles of the 1960s: expansion of day-care facilities, open admissions to the city university, more bilingual education. In the aftermath of the ghetto rebellions, various so-called antipoverty agencies were set up.

The "profligate city" propaganda is a transparent attempt to cover up the fact that—despite these gains—the level of social services provided in the oppressed minority communities is far below that in white areas. Schools are more run-down and overcrowded, garbage is picked up less often, the streets are not repaired, the few parks are allowed to deteriorate.

It takes more than a little gall to contend the city is doing too much for Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, the South Bronx, or the Lower East Side communities.

The fact is that the rulers begrudge every penny spent to ameliorate the living conditions of the oppressed. They are worried that working people, especially Blacks, might come to believe they have a right to a decent education, free or low-cost health care, clean streets, and a minimum of cultural and recreational facilities.

A much more generous attitude is taken toward the corporate giants that erect skyscrapers and make their headquarters in New York. Their real estate holdings, which are among the most valuable in the world, are notoriously underassessed to provide a disguised tax break.

The proportion of the city budget covered by real estate taxes has fallen steadily from 47 percent in 1955 to 37 percent in 1965 to 23 percent in 1974. New York's industrialists and financiers are simply not willing to pay the taxes to provide decent living conditions for the people who toil in their offices,

shops, and factories.

The costs of welfare and other services were partially covered by federal and state aid, which rose from 25 percent of the city's budget in 1965 to 42 percent in 1968. But the proportion has stayed at about that level for the past seven years, while expenses continued to rise.

In 1971 the Nixon administration launched its "New Economic Policy," aimed at improving the competitive position of U.S. monopolies on the world market. This was to be accomplished largely by cutting back the real wages and living standards of workers at home. The wage freeze and subsequent wage controls were part of this policy.

As part of the same offensive, Nixon also sought to reduce spending on social services and roll back the concessions made during the 1960s. Two successive Republican administrations—with the full cooperation of Democratic majorities in Congress—have been squeezing social programs ever since.

As various programs were gutted, Washington tried to pretend that "general revenue sharing," a Nixon project begun in 1972, would make up the difference. But a study last year revealed that 45 percent of these funds going to New York City had been spent on cops and another 22 percent on the fire department.

Nationally, only 1 percent of "general revenue sharing" went to social services for the poor and elderly.

Meanwhile, there has been no letup in the crushing tax burden for military spending. The \$100 billion spent yearly for the war machine is a vast drain on resources that could be used to improve life in the cities.

To get an idea of what this drain means, consider that in 1973, federal tax collections in Manhattan and Brooklyn alone were \$27 billion—nearly three times the size of the city budget. Only a tiny portion of that money comes back to the city in federal aid. The biggest chunk goes to the Pentagon.

### World economic crisis

The federal government's deficit spending for war—which reached new heights in the Vietnam era and has not abated since—built up powerful inflationary pressures in the economy. When these came together with another aspect of the "New Economic Policy"—devaluation of the dollar, which automatically made all imported goods more expensive—the result was the price explosion of 1973-74.

Then, in an attempt to dampen

inflation by deliberately provoking a recession, the government tightened the money supply, pushed up interest rates, and spurred unemployment to depression levels.

These policies—which were all part of the U.S. trade war against rival capitalist countries and the general offensive against the labor movement at home—led directly to the threatened breakdown of New York City's finances.

While spiraling inflation boosted all city expenses, rising joblessness and the decline in business activity cut further into its tax revenues.

One of the expenses that rose most sharply was interest payments on the city's debts, highlighting another of the real culprits in the budget crisis: the looting of the city treasury by banks and wealthy bondholders.

### City in bondage

The municipal bond market—which totaled some \$50 billion last year—is one of the pillars of the American capitalist financial structure.

Cities and states borrow by issuing bonds (long-term debt to cover major projects such as building schools or transit systems) and notes (short-term debt to cover operating expenses, supposedly in anticipation of taxes or other income soon to arrive).

Since the interest payments on these notes and bonds are completely tax free, they are a favorite investment for wealthy individuals looking for tax shelters.

Debt service on these bonds is a source of fabulous enrichment for the bondholders, whose original investments are repaid many times over and who enjoy a permanent pipeline from our tax payments to their bank accounts.

More money is borrowed to repay the old debts, and the crushing burden of interest payments itself becomes one of the major causes of the budget breakdown.

New York's annual interest payments have skyrocketed from \$470 million ten years ago to an estimated \$2 billion for the next fiscal year. This represents more than 16 percent of the city's total expenses, a larger amount than is spent on hospitals or the city university system.

If these exorbitant interest charges were eliminated, there would actually be a large budget surplus that could be used to provide more jobs and services.

The *New York Times* estimated June 6 that the major New York banks hold 10 to 15 percent of their capital in city notes. What these bankers are really worried about when they speak of "fiscal disaster" in New York is that the lucrative flow of interest payments might be interrupted.

The first concern of Mayor Abraham Beame and other city officials throughout the budget crisis has been to reassure Wall Street that its profits are not in danger.

When Beame first announced the impending budget deficit at a news conference last November, he banged his fist on the table and declared, "I want you to understand that this has no relationship to the word 'bankruptcy.' Our bonds are good and secure. They will be paid."

In order to pay them, the Democratic and Republican politicians who run the city are willing to lay off thousands of workers, close schools and hospitals, and slash services to the poor, the sick, and the elderly.

That's how much "advanced social consciousness" there is in the New York budget crisis.

(Next week: the public employee unions)

## Pay cut to save jobs?

# AFSCME local debates four-day week

By Ray Markey

NEW YORK—The New York Public Library Guild, Local 1930 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, has made big headlines here lately.

Our members are currently voting on

*Ray Markey is a member of AFSCME Local 1930 and a delegate to the District Council 37 delegate assembly.*

whether to accept a four-day week, with corresponding cut in pay, as a means of restoring the jobs of 182 laid-off library workers.

The *New York Times* ran a lengthy article on the referendum July 9. The July 10 *New York Post* ran an editorial hailing the wage-cut plan as an example to other unions, which they claimed "seem chiefly determined to out-militant one another in suicidal inflexibility."

"A favorable response," said the *Post*, "could have large echoes in a city looking for some inspiring example."

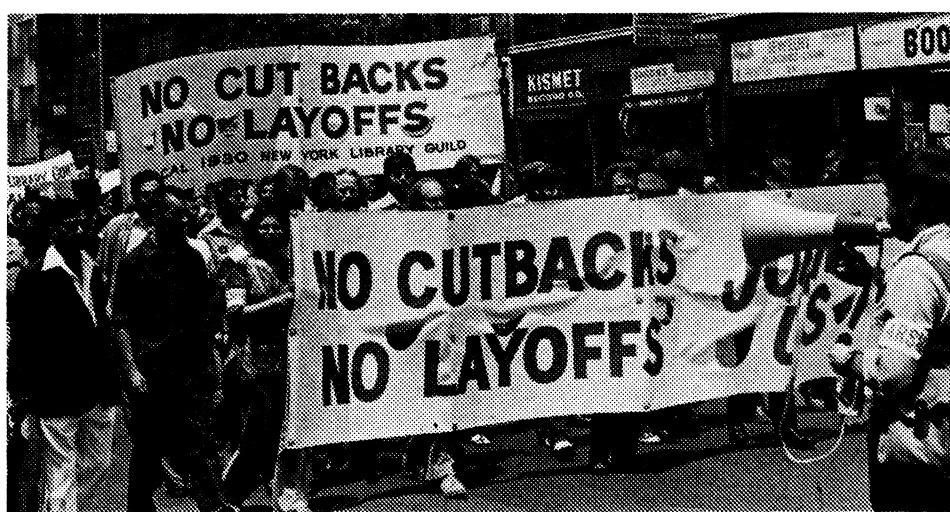
A drastic wage cut for already hard-hit New York City workers is exactly what the *Times* and *Post* have been demanding for months. They have never written a word about the genuinely inspiring things our local has done, because we have actually been fighting against everything these anti-labor papers stand for.

The fact that we have been forced to consider the four-day-week proposal is a measure of the crisis the New York municipal unions find themselves in.

### Militant union

Local 1930, with a membership of 1,500 (before the layoffs) is part of AFSCME District Council 37, which includes 110,000 members. We have the reputation of being one of the most militant locals in the council.

We were one of the first unions to pass a resolution for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia, and we had representatives at the founding conventions of the National Peace Action Coalition, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists,



Local 1930 helped initiate June 28 march on city hall against layoffs, cutbacks

Militant/Andy Rose

and the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

The current crisis in New York City has affected us severely. In addition to 182 of our members being laid off, others have been demoted, taken salary cuts, and been transferred to other work locations.

What has been our response to the crisis? A constant theme of our executive board and local membership meetings has been that the best way to fight back is to unite in action with other locals and community organizations.

We sent more than 100 activists to the April 26 march on Washington for jobs, where we marched with a large banner demanding thirty hours' work for forty hours' pay, and "Jobs for All!" We have enthusiastically participated in local demonstrations called to protest the cutbacks.

Over the past months we have again and again put forward the proposal that District Council 37 initiate a mass demonstration of the trade-union movement and its allies in the community to protest the layoffs and budget cuts. In this we have stood almost alone in the council.

Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37, has preferred to see his members laid off and their benefits reduced rather than wage a fight against his Democratic party

allies in city hall.

We cosponsored a resolution with Local 371, Social Service Employees Union, calling for a council-wide strike if any members were laid off. After a short but spirited debate, Gotbaum won the vote to get the resolution tabled.

### Didn't give up

But we didn't give up. David Beasley, president of Local 1930, issued a call for a city-wide meeting of the trade-union movement and community organizations to discuss uniting to fight against the cutbacks and layoffs.

The more than 500 activists who came to the meeting called a march on city hall for June 28.

Our executive board then met with Gotbaum to try to enlist his support. He refused to endorse the action, telling us that unions are not instruments for revolutionary change!

We weren't asking him for a revolution—merely a united demonstration against the cutbacks and layoffs. He lectured us for thirty minutes on how the whole fault for the crisis lay with the Republicans in Albany, and ended by saying that the action would be small.

We responded that we hoped he would change his mind but that we were going ahead regardless. We reminded him that although the first

antiwar demonstrations had been small, they got larger. We said it was time to try to pull together the forces, even on a modest scale, that would enable us to eventually become strong enough to fight back and win.

Thus by the time management informed us that they were laying off 182 workers and demoting and transferring many others, our small local had tried to do almost everything we could to defend our membership.

We even considered going on strike in an attempt to encourage similar actions in other AFSCME locals. But the overwhelming majority of the membership agreed that this would be suicidal, allowing management to fire all the militants. We clearly understood that we don't have the same power to shut down vital services as the sanitation workers, transportation workers, or teachers.

### Emergency meeting

On July 3 we held an emergency membership meeting at which everyone had the right to speak and vote, including those already laid off. It was agreed to put the question of a four-day week to the entire membership by mail.

Emotions ran high at the meeting. Those advocating a four-day week sincerely felt that it was the only humanitarian thing to do.

The executive board opposed this proposal. Beasley pointed out that such a concession would offer no long-term solution. "There is no guarantee that there will not be further layoffs," he told a *Times* reporter later, "and it would be impossible for the lower-paid people in our union to survive on a shorter work week."

About 60 percent of our union is in clerical-related titles with a top salary of around \$9,500. Most of them are in the \$7,000-\$8,000 range. Many are the sole support of their families.

For instance, one member earns \$7,100 and is raising three children by herself. She can hardly get by now, with the spiraling cost of living. If she were forced to take the 20 percent pay cut that a four-day week would mean, she would take home only eighty-seven

*Continued on page 26*

# Hospital workers discuss fight against layoffs

By Fran Collet

NEW YORK—The July 11 meeting of Guild Division delegates of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, reflected the growing concern of workers all over the city about layoffs and how to fight them.

*Fran Collet is a delegate in the Guild Division of District 1199.*

The main item on the agenda was the cutbacks in hospital services as a result of the New York City budget crisis. Although District 1199 mainly represents workers in "voluntary" (private) hospitals, it also has several thousand members in "affiliated" city hospitals.

An 8 percent cutback in services has already meant the layoff of scores of workers in these hospitals, as well as layoffs in voluntary hospitals receiving state and city aid in various mental health programs.

Large institutions such as Maimonides Hospital in Brooklyn, Albert Einstein Hospital in the Bronx, and Beth Israel in Manhattan have been affected by the cuts.

At Roosevelt Hospital in Manhattan, the layoff of some 125 members of District 1199 due to corrupt management practices resulted in a wildcat strike. In other hospitals, including

Flower Fifth Avenue, layoffs have been met by sit-ins by the workers.

While the exact number of hospital workers laid off or facing layoffs is not yet known, the 400 delegates responded to the union leadership's report on layoffs with anger and frustration.

District 1199 Vice-president Vivian Gioia gave the main report. She said that all the layoffs couldn't be stopped and that it was necessary to see that there were only "fair" layoffs.

In the discussion that followed, one delegate after another took the floor to talk about the need for unity and action both within District 1199 and with other unions affected by layoffs.

"There is no such thing as a 'fair' layoff," said one delegate.

"In my unit there are only 200 of us," said another, "and we need some kind of unified city-wide action to show the workers that the union is behind them."

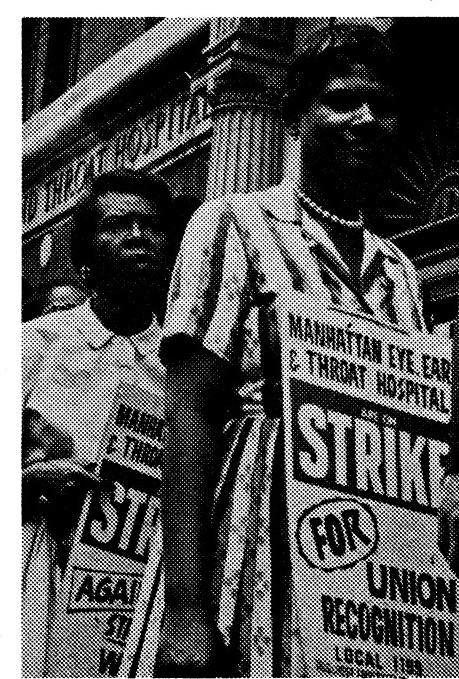
References were made to the job actions of other public workers such as the sanitation workers and fire fighters.

"We must have some kind of action and each one of us must become an organizer," said one delegate, who later proposed a half-day job action culminating in a rally at city hall.

Delegates stressed that accepting layoffs and a reduction to a four-day

workweek, with a cut in pay, represented a threat to the union as a whole.

Many recalled District 1199's history in fighting for better wages and conditions. "Three years ago we called out 25,000 members to fight for a decent contract, and no one was being faced with layoffs then. What are we going to do now?"



Union officials' failure to fight layoffs is outrage to members who built hospital union through militant struggles.

The union leadership's response to membership appeals for action was to attack the delegate assembly. District 1199 President Leon Davis told the delegates that these layoffs were "just" the result of a problem facing the city unions. He disparaged the union's size and strength, saying, "we are not even the tail end of the kite."

District 1199 in fact has 60,000 members in the New York metropolitan area.

This do-nothing posture taken by the leader of a union rooted in struggle was an outrage to delegates who had been among the thousands of District 1199 members who marched against the Vietnam War in Washington on April 24, 1971, or who had participated in the 1973 hospital strike against Nixon's wage freeze and Cost-of-Living Council. Many of these same delegates had rallied against the layoffs in Washington on April 26 of this year.

While the merits of various specific actions to fight the layoffs can be discussed and debated, it should be obvious that some visible union response to the attacks on hospital workers is urgently needed.

The July 11 delegates' meeting, however, adjourned with no official proposals except that union members respond on a hospital-by-hospital basis.

# Chinese bureaucrats court imperialism

## How Peking trades interests of world

By David Frankel

It was not so many years ago that the Maoist regime in China was holding up Moscow to scorn for its policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. The Maoists even suggested that this policy was one proof that capitalism had been restored in the Soviet Union.

Mao, however, was not the first person to prove that it's easy not to drink when no alcohol is available. Before its break with Khrushchev, the Chinese bureaucracy obediently followed Moscow's lead in foreign affairs. During the 1960s the Maoists tried to prove that they were more revolutionary than their teachers in Moscow by spouting militant rhetoric, but by 1971 Peking was openly courting American imperialism. In the process it took the side of counterrevolution against mass rebellions in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka).

These instances in which Peking supported capitalist regimes against uprisings of their own people, together with the photographs of Chou En-lai and Richard Nixon toasting each other's health while thousands were being maimed and slaughtered in Vietnam, were certainly the most visible symbols of Maoist foreign policy over the past five years. However, since Peking helped sponsor the signing of the abortive Vietnam accords in January 1973, events have continued to clarify the nature of Mao's foreign policy. Its two basic aspects have been:

1) The extension of political support and material aid to capitalist regimes in the colonial world—no matter how reactionary they may be—in return for friendly diplomatic relations.

2) Open support to the military strengthening of NATO and for a continued U.S. military presence in Europe and Asia. The Maoists try to justify this by characterizing the Soviet Union as China's main enemy and by carrying out this policy under the phony call for a "united front against the two superpowers."

The facts of the case can hardly be disputed; it is only necessary to turn to Hsinhua, the official Chinese news service. Hsinhua reprints or summarizes all the major articles in the Chinese press.

For the past five months (February 16-July 8) Hsinhua has had plenty of material exposing repression in South Korea, southern Africa, and India. These are all areas in which China is in bad diplomatic standing.

However, in five months of that daily press service, there was not one article describing the reactionary character of the governments in Saudi Arabia, Iran, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, or Pakistan, just to take a few examples.

Not that no attention was paid to these countries—quite the contrary.

The Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines, for example, established diplomatic relations with China in June. "Philippine President and Madame Marcos arrive in Peking to Rousing Welcome,"

reported the June 8-9 Hsinhua. Subsequent banquets, speeches, and communiqués were reported in detail.

Hsinhua says nothing about the reactionary character of the Marcos regime, its suppression of all civil liberties, its brutal war against the Moslem population in the south, or its close collaboration with U.S. imperialism.

Hsinhua did, however, print an article in its May 22 issue titled, "Philippine Newspaper Condemns Intensified Soviet Scramble for Sea Hegemony." One would never know from the Chinese press that two of the largest U.S. bases in the world—Clark Air Force Base, the biggest outside the United States, and Subic Naval Base, headquarters for the U.S. Seventh Fleet—are in the Philippines.

Writing from Peking in the July 9 *Guardian*, U.S. Maoist weekly, Robert Friend hastened to assure the faithful, "Neither China nor anyone else overlooks the dictatorship Marcos represents." That may be what some official in Peking told Friend, but it is not what the Chinese government tells its own people.

### A people's shah?

The counterrevolutionary nature of Peking's foreign policy is especially clear in the case of Iran. The shah of Iran was installed in power by the CIA in 1953. He protects his rule by reliance on a dreaded secret-police apparatus and extensive use of torture. His army is equipped with billions of dollars' worth of the latest U.S. weaponry while his subjects live in misery.

Yet the shah is hailed by the Maoist regime as a true friend.

"Iranian Papers Praise Development of Iran-China Friendship," says one typical article in the April 11 Hsinhua. Any Iranian political prisoners who received the May 20 Hsinhua were no doubt overjoyed to learn that "Vice-premier Li Hsien-nien and Princess Ashraf Pahlavi made speeches at the banquet [one of many] permeated with a warm and friendly atmosphere."

Whatever bogus anti-imperialist credentials the Maoists would like to equip the shah with cannot change the real role played by his regime. As Pahlavi himself explained in an interview with *Newsweek* in May 1973: "West Europe, the United States, and Japan consider the Persian Gulf as integral to their security, but they are not in position to guarantee this security. We do it for them."

The shah currently has troops fighting against a left-wing insurrection in Oman, but the June 3 issue of Hsinhua approvingly referred to remarks by Iranian Prime Minister Hoveyda, who "said that the continued build-up of Iran's defence potential guarantees the nation's independence and prosperity."

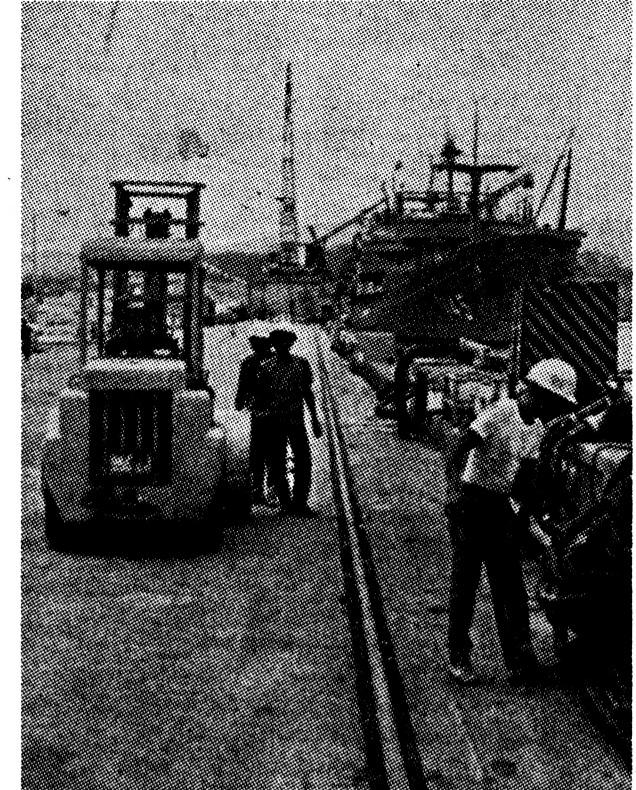
### Soviets 'more dangerous'?

While talking about the need to "oppose the two superpowers," Peking concentrates practically all of its fire on the Soviet workers state. A major commentary in the June 2 Hsinhua gives some feel for the tone of the Maoist propaganda in this area.

"The Brezhnev clique is following in Hitler's footsteps to dominate the world," according to Hsinhua. "By comparing the Soviet revisionists' words and deeds with Hitler's, it can be seen that they are not only dreaming Hitler's dream of ruling the world, but are acting in striking analogy as he did to achieve this wild ambition."

After a long invective against Moscow, the article finally mentions U.S. imperialism. However, it insists, "The Soviet social-imperialists' ambition is enormous and is making a 'general offensive'. They are stepping up mobilisation and preparations for a war of aggression. They threaten to launch a 'preemptive attack'. As a source of a new world war, they [the Soviets] are far more dangerous."

The most striking thing about Peking's propaganda assault against Moscow is its lack of correspondence to reality. The threat of a new world war has indeed hung over humanity since the close of World War II. But the threat comes from imperialism, not from the Soviet workers state. This was the case when London and Washington intervened in the Greek civil war of 1944-49; when Washington threatened to use nuclear weapons in Korea, and again during the Cuban missile crisis and the 1973 war in the Middle East; when Britain, France and



U.S. naval base at Subic Bay in the Philippines. Peking supports Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos and plays down his cooperation with U.S. imperialism, insisting that main enemy is Soviet Union.

Israel invaded Egypt in 1956; and, of course, during the war in Vietnam. In addition, in recent months Washington has repeatedly threatened to initiate the use of nuclear weapons in the event of any new conflict.

The charge that can legitimately be made against Moscow—and Peking as well—is not that they have been aggressive in their relations with the capitalist world, but that they have attempted to reach an accommodation with it at the expense of the working class.

Both China and the Soviet Union are run by Stalinist bureaucracies whose primary interest is in securing their own rule. Both subscribe to the policy of building "socialism in one country"—their own. Both have abandoned the Marxist vision of a cooperative world system democratically planned and controlled by the masses.

### For imperialist militarism

Peking's anti-Soviet propaganda is designed to appeal to European and Japanese imperialism—and to Washington as well. The Maoists urge the strongest imperialist powers in the world to stock up on more tanks, artillery, and "flexible nuclear weapons." Their charges of Soviet expansionism play right into the hands of the real imperialist militarists.

Some examples from Hsinhua give a feel for the real Maoist policy in regard to "the two superpowers."

March 8: "France's national defence should be strengthened in the present circumstances, emphasizes 'L'Humanite Rouge' [newspaper of the main Maoist sect in France] in its March 6 issue."

March 26: "U.S. Defence Secretary James R. Schlesinger has emphatically reiterated the need to augment the military strength of the United States to cope with Soviet arms expansion, according to Washington reports." Schlesinger's call for more U.S. forces in Europe and "a more flexible nuclear arsenal" are reported uncritically.

April 19: A *People's Daily* editorial welcoming Belgian Prime Minister Leo Tindemans explains: "In the present international affairs, Prime Minister Tindemans holds West Europe should strengthen its unity, enhance the defence capabilities and maintain vigilance against the menace of aggression. These positions not only conform to the desire of the Belgian people for safeguarding their country's independence but also reflect the just voice of the West European countries against superpower control, threat and bullying."

April 23: "France and other West European countries are under threat of aggression by Soviet social-imperialism, making it imperative for France to strengthen its national defence, states an editorial in the latest issue of the French paper 'L'Humanite Rouge'."

May 9-10: "British Conservative MPs Expose



Peking has not said one word in support of international campaign to defend political prisoners in Chile.

# working class for diplomatic deals

"Soviet Arms Expansion, Oppose Defence Cuts" is the title of another Hsinhua news story.

In keeping with its view that Washington is the lesser evil to Moscow, Peking has begun stepping up its appeals to the U.S. ruling class since Washington's defeat in Vietnam. The May 11-12 Hsinhua quotes a West German Christian Democratic leader who warned that "if the cooperation of West European countries in all fields including defence is not strengthened, NATO will be condemned to ill health."

"If there is no Atlantic Alliance, that is to say, no firm alliance with the United States, there is nothing that can balance the formidable Soviet strength in Europe."

On May 15 Hsinhua reported, "Kissinger Expresses 'Serious Concern' over Soviet Expansion." On May 23 it reported French President Giscard D'Estaing's view that "a U.S. withdrawal from Western Europe is absurd because it is improbable and runs counter to the interests of the United States and the political equilibrium of the world."

"West European Papers Call for Stronger NATO Defence against Soviet Threat," reported the May 29 Hsinhua. A June 14 article said, "Senior Canadian officials and officers . . . have called for greater vigilance against the growing military threat from the Soviet Union."

Even if the Maoist assessment that the USSR had become a capitalist, imperialist power were true, Peking's policy of supporting a rival gang of imperialists would be a betrayal of proletarian internationalism comparable to the decision of the Social Democratic parties to support the imperialist war effort during World War I.

But Peking doesn't limit itself to passive support. It actively encourages and advises the imperialists to increase their military power. Who are these arms going to be used against? The working class in the imperialist countries, the colonial revolution, and—yes—the Soviet Union and China.

## Diplomatic protocol'

The apologists for Maoism, of course, argue that Peking's attitude is based only on establishing and maintaining the broadest possible state relations. They claim that its observance of diplomatic protocol with imperialist and neocolonial governments and its attitude toward revolutionaries in those countries are two different things.

"Diplomatic protocol" for a workers state, however, does not and never did preclude criticism of reactionary governments. Nor does it require advice to the imperialists on how to cope with the supposed dangers threatening their rule.

The leaders in Peking, in their narrow, insular, self-serving nationalism, don't even bother to try to hide their contempt for the world working-class movement.

Many foreign Maoists, for example, were distressed when Peking rushed to give diplomatic recognition to the Chilean butchers after the right-wing coup in September 1973. Maoist publications have yet to explain why the Chinese embassy refused admission to people seeking refuge from the terror, or why China joined the United States in

abstaining from a resolution adopted by the executive committee of the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) expressing concern over the events in Chile in October 1973.

Usually, such counterrevolutionary moves are passed off by apologists for the Great Helmsman as mere errors—although how anyone with an ounce of revolutionary feeling could make such an "error" has yet to be clarified.

In any case, perhaps some of the supporters of Mao's Thought will inform the readers of the *Militant* why Hsinhua has not printed a word about the ongoing torture and repression in Chile.

One dispatch from Chile did appear in the June 21 issue—although not about the plight of Chilean political prisoners. It seems that "Chilean President General Augusto Pinochet, gave a luncheon today in honour of Chinese ambassador to Chile Hsu Chung-fu."

It is possible that Peking sees the Pinochet regime as a reliable bulwark against Soviet threats to Latin America. As Chinese Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-ping said in the March 14 Hsinhua:

"With unabated ambition, the superpower that long played the tyrant in Latin America is continuing to make trouble; but it is especially the other superpower, which flaunts the banner of 'socialism', that is stepping up its infiltration and expansion in Latin America under the guise of 'support' and 'aid'."

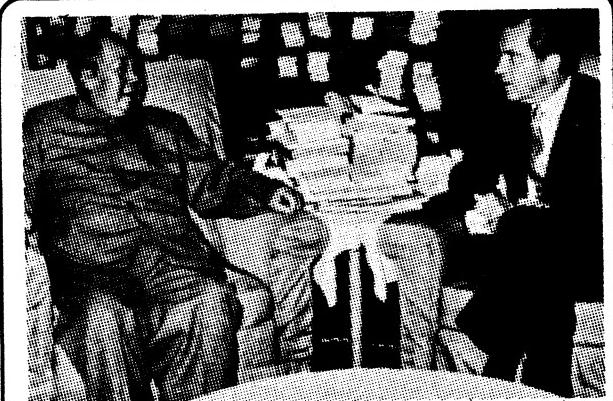
## CIA & FBI revelations

Peking's attitude toward developments inside the United States reveals more sympathy for the White House than for the victims of Washington's domestic policies. The Chinese regime evidently doesn't think that the public exposures of the secret FBI and CIA activities against the American people and foreign governments are newsworthy. Hsinhua has not carried one word about these events, not even bothering to report the CIA's assassination attempts against Fidel Castro.

A similar policy was followed by the Maoist leadership in regard to Watergate. Shortly before Kissinger's visit to Peking in November 1973, Chou En-lai told *New York Times* columnist C.L. Sulzberger, "We never use the word scandal in discussing this [Watergate]. Since it is entirely your internal affair, we have never published anything about it in our press."

Socialist revolutionaries have a different approach. They try to expose the masses to the broadest information and education possible on world events. There are no "internal affairs"! Watergate and the CIA scandals are no more internal affairs of the United States than apartheid is an internal affair of South Africa, or than the slaughter in Chile was an internal affair of that country. The process of creating a conscious international socialist movement requires that people everywhere, in every country, learn that such questions are their concern.

But certainly the most glaring case of Maoist contempt for the world revolution is Peking's attitude toward the revolutionary upsurge in Portu-



MAO & NIXON: Fond remembrances

## On Nixon's virtues

Richard Nixon, as the initiator of Washington's détente with China, holds a place of special esteem in the eyes of the Peking bureaucrats.

"Nixon is a brave man," Chiang Ch'ing (Mao's wife) told Imelda Marcos when the wife of the Philippine dictator visited her last fall. Chiang, who never denied the reports of the conversation, summed up Nixon by saying, "His virtues surely outdid whatever his liabilities were."

Premier Kukrit Pramoj of Thailand now reports that Chairman Mao agrees with his wife. A July 9 Associated Press dispatch says that Mao told Pramoj the Watergate scandal resulted from "too much freedom of political expression in the United States."

"What's wrong with taping a conversation when you happen to have a tape recorder with you?" Mao asked. "Most people in America love playing with tape recorders."

Nixon could probably fill the Great Helmsman in on some of the problems.

At any rate, Mao added, "Please tell him [Nixon] I still think of him." No doubt a lot of Vietnamese families do too.

—D.F.

gal. The development of the mass movement in that country, the center of attention for all Europe and much of the world, was limited to three articles in Hsinhua in the past five months.

On March 14 an eighteen-line item reported the attempted right-wing coup of March 11, which sent Spínola into exile and swung the country sharply to the left. On March 28 there was a thirteen-line item on a government shuffle as a result of the coup attempt, and in the April 29-30 issue there was a forty-one line item on the elections to the Constituent Assembly. The *República* affair was never mentioned.

This means that the Chinese people are unaware that there is a prerevolutionary situation in Portugal today. This is the Maoist idea of how the masses should participate in the construction of socialism.

What Peking is worried about in Portugal is not the triumph of the socialist revolution there. Its concerns were reflected in an article that appeared June 10. The headline sums it up: "Soviet Social-Imperialism is Main Enemy of Portugal's Independence Struggle, Says Portuguese Paper."

## Extension of domestic policy

It has long been an axiom for Marxists that foreign policy is only an extension of a country's domestic policy. A healthy revolutionary regime without a revolutionary foreign policy is inconceivable.

The reactionary character of Peking's diplomacy is based on the fact that it is an expression of a privileged caste that defends its own narrow interests, as opposed to the interests of the Chinese masses and the people of the whole world.

Peking's attempt to find security through diplomatic and military alliances is utopian as well as counterrevolutionary. Such policies did nothing to prevent the calamities of World Wars I and II, and in an age of nuclear weapons and deepening economic crisis they will do nothing to ensure a better future.

That task can only be accomplished by the working people of the world taking power into their own hands. The Maoist bureaucracy is an obstacle to the achievement of that working-class revolution.



U.S. missile in Germany. Chinese Stalinists are openly calling for strengthening of imperialism's NATO alliance.

# Young socialist leaders discuss antiracist strategy



Young Socialist Alliance banner at May 17 demonstration in Boston for school desegregation. YSA National Committee singled out May 17 as example of most effective approach to combat racist and right-wing forces.

By Linda Jenness

Leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance from around the country met in New York City last month to assess new factors in the youth radicalization and to map out priorities for the YSA's activities.

The gathering was a full meeting, or plenum, of the YSA's national committee. Organizers of YSA locals around the country also attended.

The four days of reports and discussion at this plenum reflected a new wave of campus and high school activities in response to the current economic crisis and the racist drive to reverse gains of the civil rights movement, symbolized by the antibusing offensive in Boston.

## New factors

The political report, presented by Ginny Hildebrand, YSA national organizational secretary, began the assessment of how the new economic conditions have affected young people, particularly students.

"There are four new factors that are particularly important for us to take note of," Hildebrand said in her report. "First, the economic crisis; second, the step-up in racist attacks; third, the potential for polarization in society; and, fourth, the beginnings of a working-class radicalization. All these are bound closely together."

The economic crisis, a product of the end of the prolonged post-World War II economic boom, has resulted in drastic cutbacks in educational funds.

Hildebrand emphasized that the cutbacks are being felt most sharply by the youth of the oppressed nationalities. Not only will many Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos be unable to continue their education, but Black studies, special recruitment programs, and Black and other minority teachers are slashed first in the cutbacks.

These cutbacks have evoked a response around the country. On campus after campus, and in many high schools, the students have begun to fight back, often with Black students leading the way.

"A striking feature of many campus and high school struggles this spring," continued Hildebrand, "was their relationship to major issues also facing the working class and the oppressed nationality communities."

This relationship was amplified in

the discussion under Hildebrand's report.

Brian Williams of the Brooklyn YSA, and a member of the national executive committee, discussed the interaction in New York City between the fight against the cutbacks on campus and the cuts in other city services.

The June 4 demonstration, for instance, called by Victor Gotbaum of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, to protest the layoffs of New York City employees, was joined by students from around the city demanding an end to cutbacks in education.

Val Libby of the San Francisco YSA told the plenum of the San Francisco high school students' fight against budget cuts, organized by Students United Against Cutbacks. SUAC was able to link up with both the California Federation of Teachers and the California Teachers Association, speaking to delegated meetings of both organizations about their common problems.

The overriding theme of all the reports and discussion was the YSA's participation in the fight against racism.

The current American depression "is a superdepression for Blacks and other oppressed nationalities in this country," explained Nan Bailey in her report on the current state of the Black struggle.

Unemployment for Blacks is double that for whites. Inflation, shortages, and cuts in social services affect Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and all the oppressed nationalities the most.

"Black students on the college campuses haven't escaped the effects of this crisis," Bailey pointed out. "Between 1967 and 1972, the number of Blacks enrolled in colleges across the country doubled. But in 1973, there was a decline in the percentage of Black youth going to college after a decade of steady increases."

"In the face of the stepped-up campaigns by the ruling class—a campaign of attacks on Black living conditions and Black rights—the Black movement today is on the defensive. The gains won by Blacks during the civil rights movement and other struggles since then are under attack right now. The government is trying to roll back these gains, and

Blacks are being forced to fight to defend those gains so they won't be taken away."

Bailey pointed to the desegregation battles going on in Boston and other cities as examples of the defensive character of the Black movement today. In Boston, the Black community is fighting to defend the Supreme Court decision of 1954, which ruled school segregation in the United States illegal.

Laura Moorhead of the West Side Los Angeles local of the YSA emphasized during the discussion that the defensive character of the Black struggle at this time does not mean it has taken a step backward.

"We must explain to Black youth," said Moorhead, "why it is necessary to defend the gains of the civil rights movement today. We must explain the defensive character, but also point out that the Black struggle today will not be limited to the issues or to the gains of the civil rights movement. The struggle will go beyond the civil rights movement, extending gains."

## New social movement

Bailey's report explained that the struggle today is not simply "a new civil rights movement."

"What we are seeing and participating in," she said, "is a new social movement."

While the struggle today is being built on the shoulders of the civil rights movement, it has different characteristics. That racism is an inherent part of the political, social, and economic system of America is more clearly understood by larger numbers of people today than during the civil rights movement.

The inability of the capitalists to end racism is more evident to Blacks than in the past. And the increased nationalist and radical consciousness in the Black community also makes this movement different than the civil rights movement.

"We should also consider the significant fact," added Bailey, "that there was nothing like a National Student Coalition Against Racism during the civil rights movement—a nationally coordinated, politically independent organization of students and youth committed to a mass-action strategy."

The National Student Coalition

Against Racism (NSCAR) was formed at a conference held in Boston in February of this year. The conference was attended by 2,000 people and grew out of the first national demonstration in Boston against the racist attacks on busing, held December 14, 1974.

Today, NSCAR has more than sixty chapters on campuses and in communities across the country. The student coalition was one of the main organizers for the NAACP-called May 17 demonstration of 15,000 in Boston.

While the main focus of NSCAR is the fight for school desegregation, it also is active in a wide range of issues linked to racism in the United States.

"It's this ability to relate to many issues and the united-front character of NSCAR, and especially its *mass-action approach*, that attract broad layers of youth—not only students, but working-class youth as well," Bailey said.

## Growth of NSCAR

The discussion at the plenum reflected the growth of NSCAR, both geographically and numerically. It also underscored the variety of activities the student coalition is involved in.

The YSA organizer from Indianapolis, Billy Jones, said that when the YSA members first began organizing to bring people to Boston for the May 17 demonstration, "we found we were the only group doing anything. In fact, I didn't even know there was going to be a march until I joined the YSA."

However, by going to community and campus organizations, a group of people came together and started a chapter of the student coalition.

"We have a school desegregation fight coming up in Indianapolis and expect a big battle over it," Jones said. "This summer the student coalition plans to start educating the community so people will understand the issue when it hits."

In addition, Indianapolis SCAR is involved in a fight against police terror. So far this year police there have killed twelve people, ten of whom were Black.

"What this shows," concluded Jones, discussing the role of the small YSA local in Indianapolis, "is that it doesn't matter how big you are. If you just get out there, you can do something."

## Success in San Diego

In San Diego, the YSA has devoted a great deal of time and energy to helping to build San Diego SCAR. "In fact," reported Don Sorsa of the San Diego YSA, "what we discovered was that antiracist activity has become the pivot of all the YSA's activities, much in the same way that antiwar activity was several years ago."

In the spring, SCAR was the only organization in San Diego building support for the desegregation fight in Boston, so when local issues broke out, it was logical for people to turn to SCAR to lead the way.

"When a Black administrator was fired, the Black Student Union came to SCAR for help," reported Sorsa. "When a Young Americans for Freedom member organized a dinner of

*Continued on page 26*



NAN BAILEY: 'What we are seeing is a new social movement.'

## Setback for racists

# Boston Nazi indicted for attacks on SWP

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—On July 2, a Boston municipal judge ordered David Widener, a leader of this city's National Socialist White People's party (Nazis), to appear in court August 5 for leading an attack on the Socialist Workers party headquarters here on the evening of May 17.

On that night, Widener and three other uniformed Nazis tried to storm into an SWP campaign rally celebrating the success of the massive NAACP-sponsored march for school desegregation held that day. The remaining three hooligans have yet to be identified.

Widener is charged with assault and attempted breaking and entering.

While Widener was identified by five SWP campaign supporters, who defended the headquarters from the attack, it was through another event that this thug was initially apprehended.

On June 27, Widener, under the alias of "Robert Walsh," appeared at a hearing to determine whether he should stand trial for assault and battery with a dangerous weapon for his attack on Evan Siegel, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance. At the hearing, Widener was identified by supporters of Siegel as the ringleader of the May 17 attack.

On June 20, Siegel had been selling the *Militant* at a busy street corner in downtown Boston when Widener and another thug, shouting anticommunist epithets, pushed him to a wall, kicked him to the ground, and beat him. Siegel required seven stitches in the head.

After the attack, he staggered across the street to summon a police officer. The cop caught up with the attackers, who kicked and beat him and fled. The assailants were later arrested and charged with assault and battery on a



Nazi national headquarters sent busload of storm troopers to Boston last fall attempting to recruit out of racist movement against school desegregation. Militant/Evelyn Clark

police officer.

These arrests mark a new stage in the Boston SWP's campaign to defend itself from Nazi harassment.

The Nazis have paid particular attention to the SWP because of its role in the campaign to mobilize support in the streets for school desegregation and its candidates' outspoken support of the rights of the Black community.

On February 24, swastikas and the slogan "Smash Communism" were found painted on the doorway of the SWP headquarters. On March 2, Nazi leaflets were found in front of the socialist offices.

On two separate occasions in March, Widener and two yet-to-be-identified Nazis posing as individuals "interested in the SWP campaign," came to the

organization's office in an attempt to "case" the layout of the building.

On May 17, Widener led a small group of Nazis at the fringe of the NAACP demonstration in a protest against the antiracist action. His underlings carried a banner that read "NAACP=Communism."

On the evening of May 17, while 150 people packed the socialist campaign headquarters in Boston, listening to speeches by SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo and Boston mayoral candidate Norman Oliver, Widener's brownshirt crew tried to break into the headquarters. They shouted, "We're going to kill you!" and "We're declaring war on you!" as they were rebuffed by the defense team at the door.

The SWP had notified the Boston

police about the earlier acts of the Nazis, but the cops failed to do anything. After the May 17 assault, the SWP and others began a campaign to force the cops to apprehend the thugs.

A picket line and news conference were held May 23, demanding that Mayor Kevin White throw the resources of his office into a drive to stop Nazi harassment.

An open letter was sent to the mayor signed by State Representatives Barney Frank and Elaine Noble, Massachusetts State AFL-CIO Vice-president Rexford Weng, Nobel Prize laureates Salvador Luria and George Wald, and American Friends Service Committee regional director Russell Johnson, among others.

The letter linked the Nazi bombing attacks against the SWP and other organizations in Los Angeles with the actions of their Boston counterparts. It urged the mayor and police to take immediate action against such attacks, which "threaten the civil liberties of everyone."

SWP candidate Oliver said, "The arrest of the chief Nazi is a big step forward. We think that it is a defeat not only for them but the racist movement they're part of.

"We intend to continue to demand that the city take action to apprehend the other Nazis who attacked our campaign headquarters," he said. "And I intend to continue my campaign of full support for the right of the Black community in this city to equal education. We won't be intimidated by right-wing terror tactics."

In this spirit, Evan Siegel distributed SWP campaign literature and sold sixteen copies of the *Militant* at a United Farm Workers rally less than twenty-four hours after being released from the hospital following the Nazi beating.

## St. Louis teacher charges FBI in firing

By Peter Seidman

ST. LOUIS—Helen Savio, a teacher who is a member of the Socialist Workers party here, has charged that she was fired from a job with the Hancock Place School District in 1971 as the result of the FBI's Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program") tactics.

Savio's charges, made at a July 2 news conference sponsored by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), were reported by the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, the *Globe-Democrat*, the NBC and CBS affiliates on local television, and several radio stations. This coverage came in the wake of the FBI's release of previously secret Cointelpro files documenting successful FBI efforts using similar tactics to witch-hunt socialist teachers out of their jobs in Texas, Washington, D.C., and other places.

At the news conference, Savio released copies of a letter sent in 1971 by a group called the "Counter-Revolutionary Council" to the superintendent of schools in Hancock Place, a suburb of St. Louis. The letter contained twelve documents that the "Counter-Revolutionary Council" said showed that "Comrade Savio is a Communist deeply involved in Communist subversion in the St. Louis area."

Among the documents were an attendance list from a 1970 antiwar conference, a list of sponsors of the St. Louis Committee to End the War in Vietnam, a pledge card signed by Savio for the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks (which was based in Chicago), two photographs,

and, the letter states, a "page from The Communist Manifesto with Young Socialist Alliance imprint on the bottom. (This establishes YSA as a Marxist-Communist organization.)"

Shortly after receipt of this mailing, the Hancock Place School District notified Savio that her contract would not be renewed the following year. Savio explained, "The reason given was that my work was not satisfactory. However, I have no doubt that my termination was politically motivated. Based on evaluations of my work made before this letter was received by my employer, I had no inkling that I would not be rehired and had been making plans for the next school year."

The next year, Savio was hired by the St. Louis Board of Education. In 1974 she received a copy of a second letter, sent by the "Midwest Command, American Counter-Revolutionary Council" to her new employer.

This letter contained another long list of documents showing Savio's membership in the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The letter said, "We wish to inform you that Helen Savio is a Marxist dedicated to the creation of a Communist state in this country. As a member of the Socialist Workers Party and its adjunct, the Young Socialist Alliance, she is to be considered a threat to the community."

The letter, which was not signed with any individual names, concluded, "We would prefer that you take appropriate action by removing this threat to our children."

"In explanation, you should be informed of the purpose of our organization. We are patriotic Americans dedicated to the exposure and neutralization of communists in our society and to the preservation of human dignity, freedom and individualism. We are not associated with any of the current radical right-wing organizations, and we include in our membership numerous business and professional persons."

Copies of this letter were also sent to the president of the board of education, the mayor, and St. Louis's two daily papers.

Shortly after Savio received this mailing she was asked to come to a meeting with the personnel director for the St. Louis Board of Education. Savio requested that a representative of her union, Local 420 of the American Federation of Teachers, come with her to this meeting. An AFT representative did go to the meeting, where Savio was informed that no action would be taken against her, but that the letter would be kept in her file.

At the news conference, Savio explained that "both these letters follow closely the pattern of harassment admitted by the FBI when it was forced to reveal Cointelpro files."

The socialist teacher explained, "I believe that I am not unlike thousands of other citizens of Missouri who were fed up with the war in Southeast Asia, who side with the right of women to choose legal abortion, who participate in and support the struggle for equal rights for Black people."

"Yet when I began to believe these

problems could only be solved by fundamental social change and therefore became a socialist, I found myself the victim of illegal government harassment."

"I hope that the thousands of citizens buffeted by today's economic and social crisis who have begun to think as I do will take personal interest in seeing to it that the right to think differently, a First Amendment right, is protected for all citizens of Missouri."

Also at the news conference was Richard McPherson, representing AFT Local 420. McPherson reaffirmed the commitment of the union to the rights of socialists to teach in the public schools. "We believe in the defense of the democratic rights of our members," he said. "We stand ready to defend our members against undemocratic attacks by right-wing groups at any time."

The harassment suffered by Helen Savio buttresses arguments made by the Missouri Socialist Workers Campaign Committee in a suit filed against enforcement of provisions of the Missouri Campaign Finance and Disclosure Act requiring the committee to turn over to the government the names of contributors.

The suit asserts that to turn over such names would expose contributors to unconstitutional harassment by the FBI, other government secret police agencies, and right-wing groups. The suit, which is supported by CoDEL, was filed April 15 by attorney Arthur Benson of the American Civil Liberties Union of Western Missouri.

# Victory in Argentina: unions blast through gov't wage ceiling, force ouster of rightist

By Judy White  
From Intercontinental Press

The Argentine trade-union movement won a spectacular victory July 8 when the regime of Isabel Martínez de Perón backed down on its attempts to impose a wage ceiling and to cancel wage contracts that included raises of up to 130 percent. Three days later the regime gave in to labor's other central demand—the resignation of its astrologer and rightist strongman, José López Rega.

The government was forced to concede because of the massiveness and solidity of the trade-union movement's actions. During a period of two weeks, wildcat strikes and two general strikes paralyzed the country. The second general strike, which began July 7, was ended when the government yielded to the workers' demands.

Although 23,000 federal police were deployed in a menacing and provocative way in the capital, there were only occasional minor clashes with demonstrators.

## Industrial workers in lead

The mobilizations were spearheaded by workers in the most important sectors of Argentine industry—metals, textiles, construction, and automobiles. But they also included the bulk of white-collar workers, sectors of the middle class, and students.

In an article in the June 28 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*, Enrique Raab described the June 27 rally of 100,000 persons in front of the presidential palace during the first general strike:

"Shortly after noon the working-class composition of the demonstration was altered by the incorporation of sizable contingents of middle-class elements: Men in raincoats with briefcases and women with umbrellas began to appear in great numbers along Avenida de Mayo. With difficulty they advanced through the already assembled lines of trade unionists....

"The furor of the slogans and chants contrasted curiously with a climate of extreme civility. The much sought after public telephone in Plaza de Mayo was besieged by a long line. Those waiting displayed a mutual courtesy not customarily seen in daily life of the capital. 'Go ahead and talk, compañero,' insisted a Light and Power worker to a man with a briefcase who was asking permission to make two consecutive calls without getting in line again. The prevailing impression . . . was that of a sort of amiable solidarity among the demonstrators, contrasting with the virulence spewed out in the slogans."

*Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist



Argentine street scene during military rule in 1972. Military found itself unable to rule, and Peronist government is heading in same direction.

Workers party), compared the current situation to that of 1969-73, the period from the semi-insurrection in Córdoba to the fall of the seven-year military dictatorship. In the June 21 issue, an editorial signed by J.A.T. pointed out that "the mobilizations that are beginning now are much bigger than those of 1969, spreading all across the country and especially into the industrial center of Buenos Aires."

The CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor) bureaucrats attempted to cut across the unity and militancy of the actions. When they were forced by rank-and-file pressure to call the second general strike, they issued a communiqué urging workers not to be taken in "by maneuvers of those who want to use our forces for dark purposes." They echoed Isabel Perón's truculent speech of June 28 in which she called strikers "antipatriotic mercenaries."

The CGT communiqué advised the ranks of labor: "The workers should stay at home, confident that the CGT and the Justicialist government are pursuing efforts to find a solution."

But the bureaucrats failed to persuade the three million members of the

organization to stay home and refrain from sweeping the regime's new wage ceiling into the dustbin.

One of the central cries of the demonstrators was "Enforce Law 14,250." This is the Ley de Contrato de Trabajo (Work Contract Law), which grants workers the right to negotiate wages and working conditions.

Negotiations for contracts that were to go into effect June 1 actually began in March 1975.

Despite the high rate of inflation (100 percent in the last year), the Argentine working class maintained a wait-and-see attitude throughout the spring as negotiations went on. The one significant exception was the sixty-day strike of 10,000 metalworkers in Villa Constitución, which met with sympathy from the rest of the Argentine labor movement but not with solidarity strikes.

Even when the Rodrigo Plan was announced in early June, it did not spark strikes, although it devalued the peso, raised fuel prices drastically, and lifted most price controls.

## Struggle escalates

What ignited the nationwide confrontation was the regime's announcement June 26 that it would not ratify collective-bargaining agreements if they exceeded a 50 percent wage ceiling.

That announcement escalated the struggle to the political level.

The Peronist trade unions—which Perón called the backbone of his movement—struck against the regime they had overwhelmingly elected two years ago. They were unwilling to pay for the economic crisis brought on by "the people's government." They were unwilling to sacrifice the right to collective bargaining they had won by bringing down the military dictatorship. And they would not let the matter rest there: The rank and file demanded the ouster of the two government ministers seen as the architects of the crisis—Economics Minister Celestino Rodrigo and Social Welfare Minister López Rega.

López Rega has also recently been charged by the Argentine press, military leaders, and opposition party politicians with masterminding the right-wing terrorist organization, the AAA (Argentine Anticommunist Alliance).

Reflecting the pressure of the masses, the Senate ignored Isabel Perón's plea not to name a new president of the Senate. Such an act would raise the question of her stepping down, she said, since the parliamentary leader is next in line of succession to the nation's presidency. On July 8 the Senate elected the Peronist Italo Luder as its provisional president.

On the eve of the latest confrontation, *Avanzada Socialista* noted the changes that have been occurring in the thinking of the workers. The June 21 editorial by J.A.T. said:

"In the years 1969 to 1972 they hated the government and had confidence in Peronism, a movement the workers and people considered their own. Today in 1975, the masses have not yet turned with hatred against the Peronist government but they have seen its lack of responsiveness and they are beginning to challenge it to some extent. Along with the street demonstrations, the factory occupations, the strikes, and the Villazos [strikes like the recent one in Villa Constitución], a no less explosive struggle in the consciousness and minds of the masses is appearing too. It is the struggle to find a new path, a new political party that this time will respond as they want it to, because it really is theirs, because it serves their class interests on all levels."

"If the masses construct such a workers party, that instrument—which they lacked in 1969—will mean that the new phase of bigger and richer struggles will culminate in a total triumph for the working class and the people."

It remains to be seen what the bourgeoisie will do in the weeks ahead. The government's authority has been seriously weakened by its attempt to impose an austerity program. However, its retreat in no way solves the economic crisis that inspired the Rodrigo Plan.

Commenting on the situation, the July 13 *New York Times* said:

"One result may be, some experts say, that the present 100 per cent inflation rate may reach 200 per cent this year. Material and product shortages are likely to worsen. The Government may find itself defaulting on \$2-billion in foreign debts."

## No new policy

On the political level, the naming of a new cabinet July 11 does not suggest a departure from its previous "tough" stance. Although López Rega was forced to resign as social welfare minister and presidential secretary, his replacements—Carlos Villone in the cabinet and Julio Gonzales as presidential secretary—are trusted lieutenants of the Argentine Rasputin.

Moreover, four other appointees—Economics Minister Celestino Rodrigo, Labor Minister Cecilio Conditi, Foreign Minister Alberto Vignes, and Education Minister Oscar Ivanissevich—who were retained from the old cabinet, are allies of López Rega.

*El Cronista Comercial*, the Buenos Aires financial daily, expressed its reaction to the new cabinet in the headline, "López Rega leaves the cabinet but maintains his predominance."

The big question now is the role the military contemplates playing in the unfolding crisis. Contradictory reports have appeared in the press as to the positions the various military figures took on the CGT wage and cabinet demands, and on the question of the election of a new Senate president. But, so far, they have maintained a low profile. They are apparently biding their time.

Isabel Martínez de Perón, however, made her position clear. She told a group of dissident Peronist legislators: "I have not packed my bags to leave the country and I will not surrender without a fight. I am going to oblige you to hang me on the Plaza de Mayo."



Argentine President Isabel Perón and rightist ex-minister López Rega (behind her) leave church. Prayers didn't help.

# World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM  
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

JULY 25, 1975

## Joins forces with George Meany

## Solzhenitsyn strikes a blow against Soviet dissidents

[The following article is from the News Analysis section of *Intercontinental Press*.]

On June 30 Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn made his first major public speech since his exile from the Soviet Union in February 1974. The occasion was a banquet in Washington, D.C., organized in honor of the famous author by the old war dog and belligerent anti-Communist George Meany, the president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Solzhenitsyn began his oration with the words, "We are all workers in this room." He recalled his years as a bricklayer and smelter worker in Soviet labor camps. Several times during his speech he said bitterly that while the American unions had held aloof from Russia, "there was an alliance between our Communist leaders and your capitalists."

### Solzhenitsyn's Audience

The audience laughed at these references, as well they might. Those present consisted of 2,500 top labor lieutenants of the capitalist class and top officials of the Ford administration, although Ford himself refrained from going because of obvious diplomatic reasons.

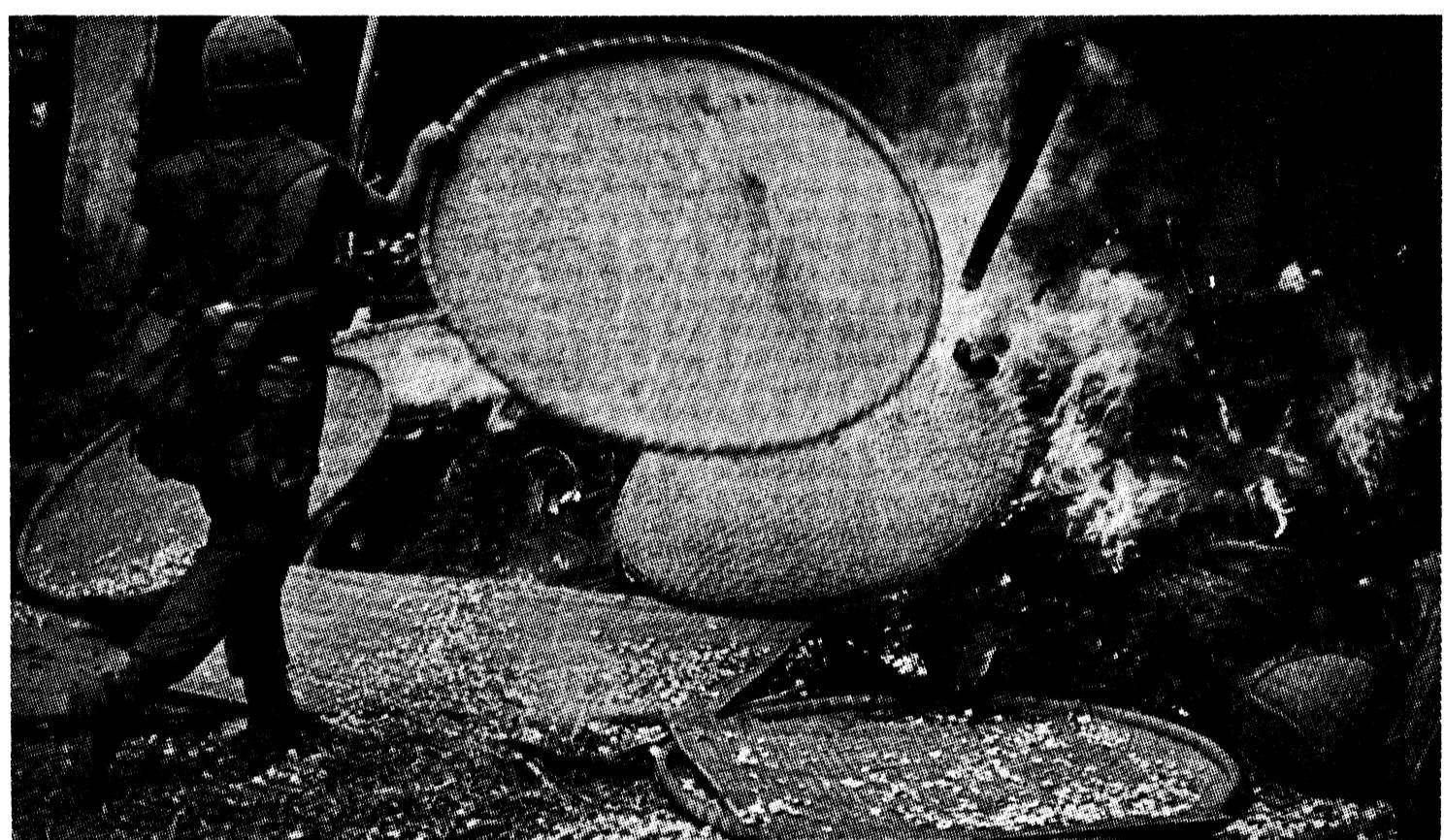
At the head table sat Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger, who the very next day would proclaim that the United States might make a "first strike," using strategic nuclear weapons against selected targets in Russia. Sitting beside this vulture, who thinks in terms of tens upon tens of millions of dead in the first hours of a coming nuclear armageddon, were former Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird, Secretary of Labor John Dunlop, former Secretary of State William P. Rogers, and Ford's newly appointed ambassador to the United Nations, Daniel P. Moynihan. Fellow workers, indeed!

Before this select audience of labor parasites and imperialist politicians, Solzhenitsyn ranted in a style not seen since the days of Senator Joseph McCarthy twenty-five years ago.

The distinguished author singled out for special attack the détente, picturing it as an immense danger to Washington:

"Nikita Khrushchev came and said, 'We're going to bury you.' They took it as a joke. They don't say we are going to bury you now, they say détente."

He denounced the Vietnam accords because, as he put it, they "made it possible for North Vietnam to take over South Vietnam. . ." This stance put Solzhenitsyn in the political camp of the Thieus and Kys and the ultra-right wing of warmongers in the



U.S. soldier burning Vietnamese village. Solzhenitsyn thinks Washington didn't fight hard enough in Vietnam.

United States who wanted to keep up the war in Vietnam, no matter what the cost in blood and destruction.

Even a newspaper as reactionary as the New York *Daily News* drew back from the spectacle put on by Solzhenitsyn. Jerome Cahill, writing in the July 2 issue, commented: "It was a familiar recital, not unlike the sort of campaign oratory that was popular among conservative politicians during the McCarthy era a quarter-century ago."

Among the items Solzhenitsyn denounced as crimes were the recognition of the Soviet Union, granted under the Roosevelt administration in 1933, and the World War II alliance with the Soviet Union against the Axis powers.

"We have an old Russian proverb," he said. "You do not call the wolf to help you fight the dogs."

The atmosphere at the banquet can be gathered from the following paragraphs in the account by the well-known columnist Mary McGrory:

### Cold War Speech

"The audience, largely composed of middle-aged union faithful, was carried away. It was the hottest Cold War speech any of them had ever heard, and it was being made by one of the 20th Century's most thundering celebrities. . . .

"Meany was in his element. It was probably one of the most satisfactory moments of his 82 years. He despises détente; no political figure on the scene quite reflects his views. He gave Mrs. Solzhenitsyn, the author's pretty, dark-haired second wife, a bouquet of roses.

He beamed.

"'Let us pray his courage is contagious,' he said when the time came to present his great prize. Solzhenitsyn, cued by his interpreter, leaped to his feet, placed his hand over his heart and let the applause roll over them both.

### No Place for Kissinger

"'We need to hear echoes in the White House,' shouted Meany, 'in the Congress, in the State Dept., in the universities, in the media.' The applause for each institution was deafening. There was not a vote in the house for detente. It was no place for Henry Kissinger."

Solzhenitsyn is a prime example of how the policies of Stalin and his heirs produce opponents of socialism. At one time, Solzhenitsyn considered himself a Marxist. Imprisoned for eleven years after criticizing Stalin in a letter, Solzhenitsyn came to identify Stalinism with Leninism and Marxism, and ultimately turned to religion, Great Russian nationalism, and an utterly utopian vision of returning to a pre-industrial society.

It was the crimes of Stalinism that turned this great artist, but very mediocre political thinker, into an anti-Communist crusader, just as they have created distrust of socialist ideas among many workers throughout the world.

Solzhenitsyn's low political level is shown by his belief that the American imperialists are interested in fighting for democratic rights in the Soviet

Union. Their real attitude on this question has been shown by their actions in Chile, Vietnam, South Korea, Iran, and Indonesia, to cite but a few examples.

The truth is that Wall Street appreciates Stalinist totalitarianism because it allows its publicists to equate socialism with a brutal antidemocratic dictatorship, thereby helping to confuse the masses.

Solzhenitsyn, an eloquent exposer of some of Stalin's crimes, turns into a pathetic clown when he advises the White House on what its policies ought to be.

### Détente a Soviet Trick?

Contrary to Solzhenitsyn's view, détente is not a trick thought up by the Kremlin to try to "bury" capitalist democracy. From the viewpoint of the Soviet ruling caste, the current détente is merely the continuation of a policy initiated by Stalin after he had smashed Lenin's party and its main figure following Lenin's death, Leon Trotsky. Stalin's policy was *class collaboration* or a common front with imperialism in maintaining the status quo. The Kremlin's term has been "peaceful coexistence," which means heading off revolutions wherever possible.

When the Pentagon had a monopoly of the atomic bomb, American imperialism opened the cold war. After some years, Washington reverted back to "détente" for a number of reasons, *Continued on page 22*

## Opposition groups outlawed, press gagged--Gandhi

By Ernest Harsch

"Even today we are more democratic than any developing country in the world," Prime Minister Indira Gandhi claimed July 2. The assertion could have been used by Orwell in his novel *1984* as a perfect example of "New-speak."

However, "too much" democracy has its drawbacks. "In India, democracy has given too much license to people," she said. "Whether it were newspapers or opposition, they were trying to misuse it and [weaken] the nation's confidence."

Two days later, India's new dictator proclaimed: "I am proud of democracy in the country, and want to see it strong."

Between demagogic pronouncements, Gandhi moved to strengthen her dictatorial rule. On July 4, she banned twenty-six political and religious groups. A United Press International dispatch from New Delhi reported that the decree "outlaws virtually all of the more extreme political parties and organizations on the left and the right."

"It does not affect the major national opposition parties, but many of the leaders of those groups are already in jail."

The government accused the groups of "indulging in activities prejudicial to the internal security, public safety and maintenance of public order."

The available news reports name only four of the groups on the banned list. One is the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (National Protection Union), a paramilitary youth group affiliated to the right-wing Hindu communalist Jan Sangh. Although the Jan Sangh itself has not yet been banned, many of its top leaders have been arrested. Another group that has been outlawed is the Jamaat-e-Islami, a Muslim group based in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, an area long



Gandhi's repressive measures may drive massive discontent with regime underground, but they cannot eliminate it.

claimed by Pakistan. In addition, the Anand Marg, a religious sect that has been active in the mass anticorruption movement in Bihar state, was banned.

The Maoist Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist), whose members are referred to as "Naxalites," after the 1967 peasant uprising in Naxalbari, West Bengal, was also banned. The CPI(ML) has been functioning under a de facto ban for several years, its members having been arrested or shot on sight. Thousands of Naxalites were in prison before the state of emergency was proclaimed.

Police raided the regional offices of some of the banned groups and arrested hundreds of leaders and members.

Party offices were closed and sealed and files were confiscated.

Although the ban did not yet illegalize the major opposition political parties, they have been crippled by the jailing of their leaders.

It is not known precisely how many persons have been arrested so far. The regime has put the figure at more than 1,000; opposition sources estimate that up to 6,000 have been arrested.

"In New Delhi alone," *New York Times* correspondent Eric Pace said in a June 30 dispatch from the capital, "the municipal administration reported in a communiqué, 653 'bad characters' have been arrested in the last few days . . ."

The regime admits that about 500

persons (other sources put the figure at 1,000) have been detained in Bihar state, where mass demonstrations against high prices and corruption have been staged in the past year. Jaya Prakash Narayan, a former Socialist leader and a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi who became the chief leader of the movement, was one of the first to be seized. But the arrests were also directed against the secondary leadership in a clear attempt to cripple the mass struggles in Bihar.

James M. Markham, of the *New York Times*, reported in a July 3 dispatch from Patna, the capital of Bihar, "Many of those arrested—political leaders and organizers, students and what the censored press now calls 'bad elements'—were in the forefront of the demonstrations last fall that sent tens of thousands of Mr. Narayan's followers surging through Patna's clogged and rutted streets, demanding the ouster of the state's Congress party government."

Jans Janitschek, the general secretary of the Socialist International, said in London July 1 that all fifteen members of the national executive of the Socialist party in India are under arrest, as well as the seven Socialist members of Parliament and the editors of three Socialist newspapers.

There have been reports that police fired on protesters in parts of Bombay and Calcutta. *Los Angeles Times* correspondent Jacques Leslie reported from New Delhi in the June 29 issue: "Confrontations between police and workers involving shooting and casualties earlier last week were reported in the Indian cities of Kanpur [in Uttar Pradesh] and Bhopal, capital of the central state of Madhya Pradesh."

Eric Pace reported in the July 1 *New York Times* that travelers from Patna who had reached New Delhi "gave reports that indicated that the disorders in Bihar have been graver and of

## Stalinists in Moscow & Hanoi salute Gandhi's coup--

By Ernest Harsch

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's June 26 declaration of a state of emergency throughout India and the arrest of thousands of political opponents on both the left and right won instant endorsement from her Stalinist backers.

According to an article by Tom Foley in the June 28 *Daily World*, the newspaper of the American Communist party, the Indian pro-Moscow Stalinists backed Gandhi's assumption of dictatorial powers almost two weeks in advance: "The Communist Party of India (CPI), in a June 13 statement by its national council, gave support to Premier Gandhi against what it called a drive by Indian reactionaries allied with international imperialism to oust the Indian Premier from office by any possible means."

India's largest trade-union federation, the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), also gave its public backing to Gandhi. The AITUC's general secretary is S.A. Dange, the chairman of the CPI.

The CPI's pledge of support was repeated after Gandhi's dictatorial coup. Trying to give the suppression of

democratic rights in India a left cover, the CPI, in a statement distributed by the Soviet news agency, Tass, said that Indian reactionaries "put forward their plans for subverting democratic institutions at a time when U.S. imperialist circles threaten the independence, security, and unity of India by setting up military bases in the Indian Ocean and encouraging the splitting of India and of counterrevolutionary forces."

Tass also released a statement by the Stalinist-controlled World Peace Council in Helsinki, Finland, which said that the Central Intelligence Agency had "considerably widened its activity in India" and "millions of dollars are placed at the disposal of Indian reactionaries and neo-fascist elements."

*Pravda*, on June 27, stated: "The measures taken by the president and the government are aimed at defending progressive gains and frustrating plans of the reaction."

The following day, the Moscow daily *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, the official newspaper of the Young Communist League, compared the situation in India with that in Portugal. It said that in both India and Portugal

"reaction" was opposed to the "progressive transformation of society and the growing people's unity." The paper continued, "In both cases, the provocateurs have been unmasked."

*L'Unità*, the daily newspaper of the Italian Communist party, claimed that the state of emergency had been declared in order to disrupt the plans of "reactionary forces" to foment a "mutiny." This was an apparent reference to a speech given at a rally of 50,000 persons in New Delhi June 25 by Jaya Prakash Narayan, the main leader of the mass anticorruption movement in Bihar state, in which he called on the police and army to disobey "illegal orders" and to "protect Indian democracy."

Hanoi also echoed Moscow's support for the Gandhi regime. The Hanoi army newspaper *Quan Doi Nhan*, according to a June 27 Agence France-Presse dispatch from Hong Kong, declared support for Gandhi in what it described as her fight against "reactionary rightists."

"The current campaign of the rightists to denigrate and slander Mrs. Gandhi is meeting with the opposition of broad sections of public opinion in India," the Hanoi paper said.



'Who's the fairest one of all?'

However, Peking, which has been hostile to the Indian regime since the 1962 India-Chinese border war, criticized the state of emergency and the mass arrests. A June 27 New China News Agency dispatch said that the arrests were "not only a bitter mockery

# tightens grip on India

greater scope.

"One traveler reported that a total of 30 persons had been killed by the police in a port in the Patna district, and in several other towns in the state."

On June 30, the regime issued another decree under the state of emergency, giving it the power to detain those arrested for one year. Although the original state of emergency decree provided that prisoners must be told the reason for their arrest within a few days, the new decree stipulated that they need only be told that it was "necessary" under the emergency. In addition, the decree empowered authorities at all levels to make arrests.

Issues of the American magazines *Time* and *Newsweek*, which carried reports of Gandhi's coup, were seized at the airport. A source at the Press Trust of India, the country's largest news agency, told *Washington Post* correspondent Lewis M. Simons that out of fifty articles on the state of emergency that it submitted to the censors, only four were passed. The censorship regulations have also been extended to cover photographs, cartoons, and advertisements.

Simons reported in a June 29 dispatch from New Delhi, "Several foreign journalists learned that their homes and offices were being watched by secret police and their local employees were being questioned.

"Indian journalists working for foreign media were summoned to a meeting with Information Minister Vidyas Charan Shukla and told that they would be treated as 'criminals' and imprisoned if their publications printed articles not approved by the censor, whether the Indians wrote them or not."

Simons was expelled from India June 30 for refusing to abide by the censorship regulations.

Because of the gagging of the press, it is difficult to ascertain how much active opposition there is to Gandhi's dictatorial coup. Reports of strikes and demonstrations in several states and territories have appeared abroad despite Gandhi's tight censorship.

A report in the July 3 *Washington Post* said that "travelers and political foes of Mrs. Gandhi reported that killings by police, sabotage and anti-government protests had taken place in the three populous states of Gujarat, Bihar and Tamil Nadu in defiance of the state of emergency."

Leaflets signed by the Communist party of India (Marxist), attacking the Gandhi regime, were circulated in New Delhi June 28. Some of the CPI(M) leaders have been arrested.

In Bombay, lawyers and court officials, led by the chairman of the Bar Council of India, issued a statement denouncing the state of emergency and the arrests, calling them "the beginning of the end of democracy and the rule of law in India." Courts in Bombay were closed June 26 in protest. On July 5 Indian journalists appealed to Gandhi to lift or ease the censorship regulations.

There have also been reports of protests in the states of Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Kerala, and Madhya Pradesh. From the sketchy information available, it appears that the greatest unrest is in Bihar and Gujarat, the two states that were rocked by mass upsurges last year against the Congress party state governments.

Before his expulsion from the country, *Washington Post* reporter Simons made a hasty opinion survey of persons in several parts of New Delhi. "As the impact of the past 48 hours settled over this capital tonight," he reported June 27, "Indians responded with shock, apathy, cynicism, hostility, but with almost no approval to the sweeping measures taken by Prime Minister

Indira Gandhi." He found only one person who favored the state of emergency, a junior executive at the Dunlop Rubber Company.

Public protest against the state of emergency may increase when students and teachers return to India's nearly 100 universities after the annual June vacations.

Gandhi also faces some opposition from the non-Congress party state government in Gujarat.

The state government of Gujarat was sworn into office June 25, the day before the state of emergency was imposed. Under the banner of the Janata Morcha (People's Front), a bloc of opposition parties had defeated the Congress party in elections to the state assembly earlier in June.

In a direct challenge to Gandhi's authority, the Gujarat government has ignored her orders to arrest demonstrators protesting the state of emergency.

On June 27, Gandhi ordered units of the federally controlled Border Security Force and the Central Reserve Police into Gujarat. According to opposition sources, she also moved in additional units of the army.

Markham, in a June 30 dispatch from Ahmedabad, the capital of Gujarat, reported: "A well-known student leader said that, in view of these troop movements and the arrests outside of Gujarat, he planned to go 'under-

ground' soon. He said that the student movement was ready for a crackdown.

"With newspapers censored, 'wall papers' in black and white paint have appeared on buildings and walls in Ahmadabad. In its many parks, organizers have been delivering lectures with bullhorns, and an underground newspaper has appeared."

Some opposition figures in Gujarat, according to Markham, expected Gandhi to declare president's rule in the state, which would involve the ouster of the elected state government and the imposition of direct federal control. To avoid the imposition of president's rule—and its loss of power—the Janata Morcha has asked its supporters to "maintain calm."

Although Gandhi's Stalinist allies have claimed that American imperialism and the Central Intelligence Agency were backing the antigovernment opposition in India, Gandhi herself has reassured Washington that her seizure of dictatorial powers was not intended to damage relations between the two states.

"It is very far from the truth to say that the government of India is anti-American," she told a group of visiting American teachers. "India is seriously trying for better relations with the United States."

Gandhi also said she wanted President Ford to continue with his plans to visit India later this year.

Coming in the July 28

## Intercontinental Press

"Iranian Stalinists Hail Shah's Betrayal of Kurds."

How the pro-Moscow Tudeh (Communist) party of Iran jumped on the shah's bandwagon and greeted the defeat of the Kurds in Iraq as a "victory for peace and progress."

IP correspondent Majid Namvar re-

ports the sorry spectacle of how the Iranian CP, one of the most slavish parties in Moscow's orbit, helped the Shah of Shahs stab the Kurdish movement in the back.

For a copy send \$75 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, New York 10014.

# give dictator left cover

of bourgeois democracy, but an exposure of the unstable and weak ruling position of Indira Gandhi." The June 29 *People's Daily* commented that India has been thrown "into the lap of revisionist Soviet social-imperialism."

Moscow's main interest in the politically explosive Indian subcontinent is to maintain "stability." From the Stalinist viewpoint, the preservation in power of Gandhi's Congress party is the best way, at this point, of ensuring that goal.

Moscow's support for Gandhi was concretized in the 1971 Indo-Soviet treaty, in which the Soviet Stalinists promised to supply Gandhi with military and economic aid. During Soviet Communist party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev's visit to India in November 1973, a fifteen-year "economic development" agreement was signed, which provided for increased trade between New Delhi and Moscow and Soviet participation in India's iron, steel, and oil industries. Moscow also promised to supply SAM-6 anti-aircraft missiles.

In line with Moscow's foreign policy initiatives, the CPI has been supporting Gandhi since the mid-1969 split in the Congress party, in which the right

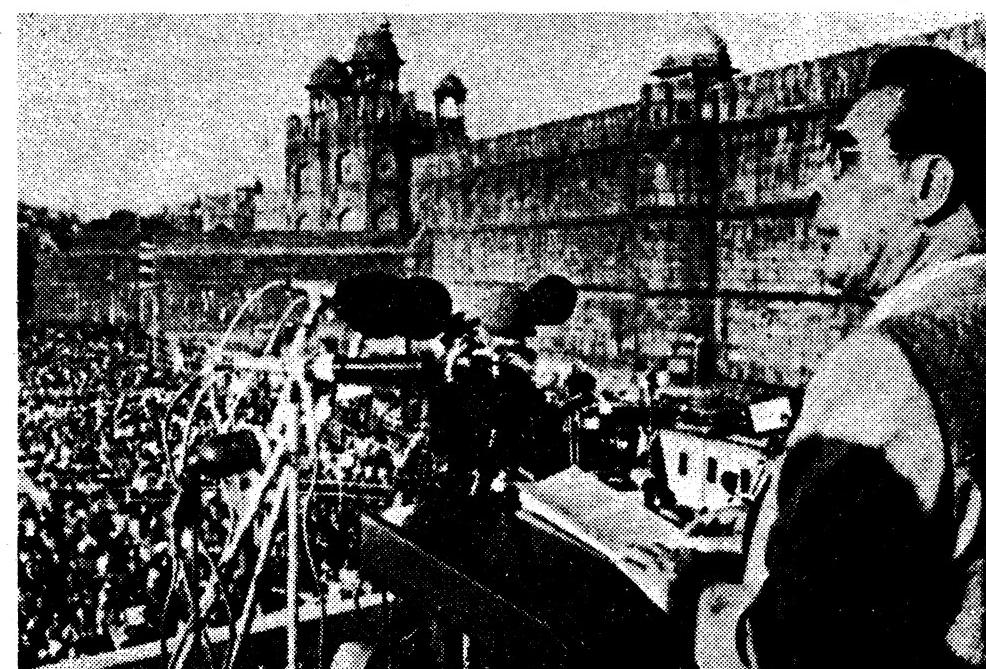
wing of the ruling party left.

Stating that Gandhi represented the "progressive national bourgeoisie" in India, the CPI has pressed for popular-front coalition governments with the Congress party. It is at present part of a coalition with the Congress party in Kerala state, in which the Congress has a majority. However, the chief minister, Achuta Menon, is a CPI leader.

At its tenth national congress in February 1975, the CPI called for the installation of CPI-Congress governments in all of India's twenty-one states.

The CPI has also aided the regime by attacking the mass movements against high prices and corruption that have developed during the past year and a half, particularly in Gujarat and Bihar states. On November 11, 1974, the CPI held a mass demonstration in Bihar against the "rightist offensive."

At the CPI's congress in February Chairman S.A. Dange said that India faced two main dangers: imperialism and the "fascist movement" led by Jaya Prakash Narayan. One CPI slogan has been "Strengthen the hands of Mrs. Gandhi to fight the



Brezhnev during 1973 visit to India. Kremlin sees Gandhi regime as a force for stability in Asia.

combined reaction."

Gandhi has recognized the value of the CPI's support. Shortly after Brezhnev's visit, she noted that the Congress-CPI alliance "has helped to contain communism."

The CPI is undoubtedly hoping to tighten its alliance with India's ruling party—and win more government posts—as a result of its loyal support

to Gandhi's dictatorial coup. The arrest of several Congress party leaders who had opposed the CPI alliance may be an indication that Gandhi is considering such a move. The CPI would certainly be a useful instrument in checking the mass opposition to Gandhi's rule, since it controls important trade unions and other mass organizations.

## Kremlin threatens to transfer Moroz to psychiatric prison

Moscow officials are preparing to transfer Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz from Vladimir prison to a prison-hospital for compulsory psychiatric care, according to recent reports from the Soviet Union.

Moroz was sentenced in November 1970 to nine years imprisonment and five years exile. His crime was to have written four essays upholding the social, cultural, and language rights of Ukrainians against Moscow's official policy of Russification.

After being subjected to extremely harsh conditions in Vladimir prison, including nearly two years of solitary confinement, Moroz began a hunger strike July 1, 1974. He continued to refuse food for 145 days, until November 22, 1974, when he was transferred to a cell with another prisoner.

Moroz suffers from heart, liver, and kidney disorders and lost forty-five pounds during the protest. In addition, he suffered internal injuries from the forced feeding. Yet after he ended the hunger strike he was neither hospitalized nor given (as far as is known) any special medical attention.

There has been little up-to-date news on his condition, but it is known that despite deliberate official neglect, his

physical condition has been gradually improving.

Recently, however, Vladimir prison officials have begun to talk about moving Moroz to a hospital—not for medical care but for psychiatric treatment.

According to a report from the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, the Vladimir prison physician said Moroz requires psychiatric treatment because "a normal individual could not have endured a five-month hunger strike."

Kremlin officials have used similar bizarre and cynical analyses to justify ordering compulsory psychiatric treatment for other dissidents. Dissident communist Pyotr Grigorenko, for example, was said to be suffering from "reformist illusions," and mathematician Leonid Plyushch was told he was "as crazy as Grigorenko."

Activities in defense of Moroz, carried out internationally during his hunger strike, must now be resumed with renewed effort. The threat that he may be incarcerated in a psychiatric prison-hospital should be protested by supporters of democratic rights everywhere.

## ...Solzhenitsyn

*Continued from page 19*

including a weakened world position.

In his performance at the banquet, wearing the warbonnet of George Meany, Solzhenitsyn struck a treacherous blow at the dissident movement inside the Soviet Union and the other workers states. The Kremlin and all its agents will happily seize on what he said and did to smear those courageous dissidents, claiming that what they really stand for is the themes preached by Solzhenitsyn in Washington, and that they thus in reality constitute agents of imperialism.

The truth is that most of the dissidents, unlike Solzhenitsyn, are solidly against imperialism and for socialism. Their goal is to reinstate or to move forward to proletarian democracy.

These dissidents are certain to denounce Solzhenitsyn. Soviet historian Roy Medvedev has already stated that the recent writings of Solzhenitsyn have "produced a decisive protest by most readers among the dissidents."

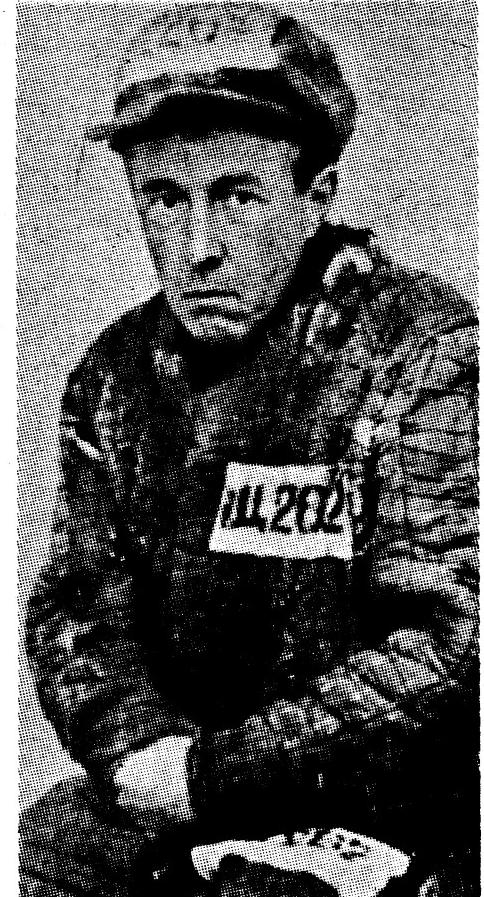
The most important currents in the dissident movement understand the meaning of Washington's machinations and are completely opposed to them. They understand that the conquest of the workers states by American imperialism would lead to a situation even worse than the one they have had to endure under the rule of the bureaucratic caste.

In the struggle against Stalinist oppression they look to the Soviet people, supported by the working masses of the world, as the only power that can end the grip of the bureaucracy and lead to a great new birth of freedom on the basis of the planned economy established through the October 1917 revolution.

In the March 18, 1974, issue of

*Intercontinental Press*, Allen Myers assessed the changed role of Solzhenitsyn after his forced exile:

"Now that he has been artificially cut off from Soviet society, there is a real danger that his views will serve exclusively to promote reactionary, antisocialist causes. But his attempt within the Soviet Union to discover and portray the truth about Stalinism will contribute to the eventual overthrow of the bureaucrats and the restoration of socialist democracy despite all the limitations of his outlook."



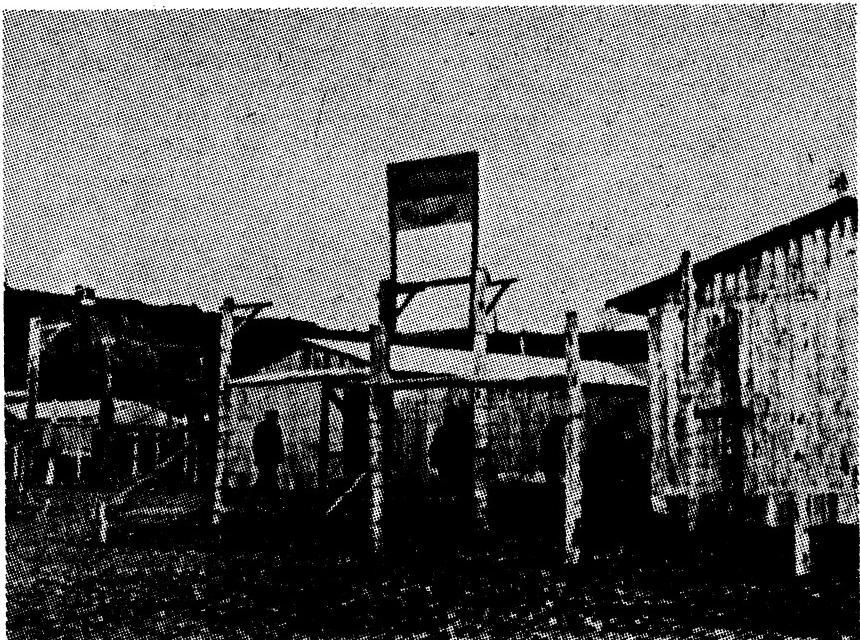
Solzhenitsyn in Stalinist prison camp. His experiences at hands of bureaucracy turned him into a reactionary.

## World news notes

### Chilean junta cancels UN investigation

Chilean dictator Pinochet announced the cancellation July 4 of the visit to Chile by the United Nations Human Rights Commission to investigate charges of torture. The commission—made up of representatives from Pakistan, Belgium, Austria, Sierra Leone, Romania, and Ecuador—had been scheduled to arrive in Chile July 10.

In Geneva, the International Committee of Jurists—which condemned human rights violations in Chile after a visit last year—declared that cancellation of the UN visit "inevitably leads to the conclusion that the Chilean government was not in a position to face an objective investigation."



Chilean junta was afraid of what investigators would find in prison camps such as this one on Dawson Island.

### Too much free coffee

Genoa, Italy, June 12 (UPI)—Coffee now and then is all right, but 150 cups a day is a bit too much, 300 residents of a suburb said today in a petition to Judge Mario Almerighi.

The citizens asked Almerighi to do something about a coffee-roasting plant in the area whose smoke has been giving many residents headaches and nausea. They said an analysis made by experts showed that each person living near the plant breathed an amount of caffeine fumes equivalent to 150 cups of coffee a day.

Almerighi said he would investigate.

### Spanish-Portuguese cooperation

The Iberian Pact, the military and diplomatic alliance Salazar signed with Franco in 1939, should be "brought up to date," Portugal's Foreign Minister Melo Antunes said at the end of an official visit to Madrid June 10.

Melo Antunes said, however, that he had not discussed the pact with Spanish officials. "We discussed subjects of general interest, such as the role that Spain and Portugal can play at the European Security Conference [expected to meet later this year]. It was decided to increase our economic, trade, and scientific cooperation."

He said that the two governments had agreed to "reactivate joint commissions for Spanish-Portuguese cooperation."

One of Lisbon's major concerns in its relations with Madrid is the threat posed by exiled officials of the Salazarist regime now living in Spain. "As long as Spain maintains its present attitude toward the Portuguese exiles," Melo Antunes said, "Portugal has no objections to make" with respect to Madrid's policy.

### Cape Verde Islands win independence

The Cape Verde Islands won their independence July 5, after more than 500 years of Portuguese rule. In the June 30 elections to the fifty-six-member National Assembly, the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné-Bissau e Cabo Verde (PAIGC—African party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands) gained 95.67 percent of the vote. It was the only political group that ran candidates for the assembly, which has the tasks of writing a constitution and deciding whether the islands will unite with Guinea-Bissau. The two former Portuguese colonies are expected to unite shortly, since unity was a central plank in the PAIGC program.

The first session of the National Assembly elected Aristides Pereira president and Maj. Pedro Pires prime minister. Pereira is secretary-general of the PAIGC, and Pires is chairman of the party's committee for Cape Verde.

# ...CIA spying on socialists began in 1950s

Continued from back page

dents for a Democratic Society in 1969, more and more campus activists were looking to the YSA as the most viable leadership of the student movement.

## 'Best guess for leadership'

A memo sent to the CIA's deputy director of security in December 1969 pointed these things out and projected a stepped-up program against the YSA. "Since the splintering of SDS last summer at Chicago, the YSA (mostly via the Student Mobe) is coming on strong and presently represents the 'best guess' for leadership in the radical left youth movement for the early 1970s," the memo warns.

"SWP/YSA/SMC targets are clear," the memo continues. "We will most definitely keep abreast of evolving developments in this Trotskyite old left/new left complex."

"Target Analysis Branch will be treating this topic in some depth in this week's Situation Information Report," the memo adds.

One of the ways the CIA "kept abreast" of YSA activity was by sending not one, but four agents to investigate the Washington, D.C., local of the YSA. These agents, identified only as R-4, R-5, R-6, and R-7, attended various socialist functions in the D.C. area and sent in detailed reports on these events.

These reports are dated 1969 and 1970—a year or more after the Office of Security is supposed to have ended infiltrating or "monitoring" of D.C. groups.

The reports included detailed physical descriptions of individuals in the YSA and SWP, as well as racist comments such as "about 6 colored" attended the meeting. SWP leader George Novack was described in a report on a December 1969 educational conference that he addressed as a "smooth talker" and "clean shaven."

Support by the YSA for revolutions in the colonial and semicolonial world was a key preoccupation for the CIA supersleuths.

## Support for Cuba

One memo in the files is a report on an August 10, 1969, meeting in Washington, D.C., at which YSA leader Dan Rosenshine, who had recently returned from Cuba, spoke about the Cuban revolution. After summarizing the content of the talk, the agent noted: "No new literature was available at the meeting. R-7 departed the area at 2255 hours."

The report concluded with the following information:

SUBJECT: Socialist Workers Party

1) The SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY was founded in January 1938 by JAMES P. CANNON and other adherents to the views of LEON TROTSKY. The SWP is the American affiliate of the Trotskyite Fourth International, the exponent of radical communism.

2) JAMES P. CANNON was an early leader of the Communists in America. He was expelled from the Communist Party in October 1928, after championing the views of LEON TROTSKY at the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern, 1928. CANNON and his followers organized themselves into an opposition party, the COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA, and immediately, November 1928, began propagandizing their views through an organ called the "MILITIA." In December 1934, CANNON and his CLA joined forces with A. J. MUSTE and the WORKERS' PARTY. This alliance was not lasting for the MUSTITES desired to create a large party of their own, while the CANNONITES looked for power by "boiling from within" an already established organization. The split between the moderate and left wings of the SOCIALIST PARTY in 1936, gave the CANNONITES the opportunity to penetrate the SOCIALIST PARTY as "individuals." However, their views and aims were too radical for even the left wing Socialists and they were expelled in 1937. In January 1938, the CANNONITES then formed the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY.

3) The SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY is currently active. It has been cited as a subversive organization by the Attorney General.

*The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, Victor Marchetti described the OPC as having been secretly authorized by President Harry Truman "to carry out 'dirty tricks' overseas, with the two stipulations that the operations be secret and 'plausibly deniable.'

The OPC was merged with the CIA proper in 1951, around the time this document on the SWP was drawn up.

## Unanswered questions

The OPC notation raises more unanswered questions about CIA domestic spying. Did the CIA plot "dirty tricks" against the SWP and other U.S. dissident groups? Were these "dirty tricks" carried out via third parties, such as counterrevolutionary Cuban groups, so as to make them "plausibly deniable" if discovered?

The documents also raise new questions about the Rockefeller commission report. How is it that an investigation that Vice-president Rockefeller swore had left "no stone unturned" failed to say a word about the decades of spying on the YSA and SWP? Why did the report say the Office of Security ended its infiltration in 1968 when it was still spying on the YSA in 1970? Is it because the office is still engaged in infiltration today?

The Office of Security documents just begin to peel away the cover-up of CIA crimes. The CIA has yet to turn over files on its Operation CHAOS, which undoubtedly included the YSA and SWP, and on other programs directed against socialists.

The agency has refused to release most of its files on leaders of the SWP, such as Peter Camejo, SWP 1976 presidential candidate, and Fred Halstead, longtime SWP leader and anti-war organizer.

The CIA has turned over a few pages

*CIA Employee, JPC  
examined this file.  
CIA Employee  
9/10/71*

Page from CIA's secret files. Hand-written notation at bottom, dated 1951, shows document was examined by Office of Policy Coordination. OPC was in charge of international 'dirty tricks.'

"Description of Dan Rosenshine: white (possibly Cuban); 30 years old, 5'11", 165 lbs, slim build, very neat in appearance, black, short hair, clean shaven. He was wearing a blue shirt, dark blue pants and brown shoes."

Apparently "R-7" believed anyone who supported the Cuban revolution was "possibly Cuban!"

On another occasion, in 1970, the CIA sent two agents to a socialist discussion class held at the D.C. YSA headquarters.

In none of these reports is there any mention of the alleged reasons for such extensive surveillance. None of the reports indicate that the YSA was about to "threaten" a CIA installation, nor is there any evidence offered in the documents of "foreign domination" of the YSA or SWP.

The report on George Novack, for instance, states simply that "he read from a book about STALIN, LENIN AND MARX, talking about communism." Another report, on a panel about the Middle East, states that one speaker "said that the Zionist Revolu-

tion was being supported by Great Britain and U.S. Israel is supporting President Nixon's stand on Vietnam."

In a statement released to the press, Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate, declared, "We are presenting proof that since 1950 the CIA has targeted the SWP for surveillance and infiltration. And it continues to this day.

"Why? Because we are criminals or terrorists? Our record shows that isn't true. Not a single member of the SWP has even been charged with a federal crime since the CIA's formation in 1947.

"Is it because the SWP is run or financed by a foreign government? Hardly. The SWP is run and financed by its members, and no one has ever produced any evidence to the contrary.

## Proud record

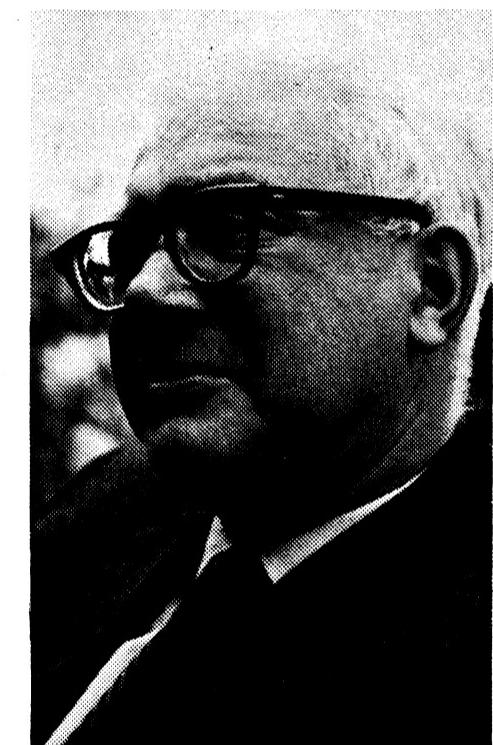
"It is true," the socialist candidate continued, "that we played an important role in the massive movement against the Vietnam War. It's true that we are proud of our efforts to defend political prisoners and other victims of repressive regimes around the world. And it's true that we have a proud record of fraternal solidarity with socialists in other countries who are fighting for a better world."

"And it's true, as the CIA says in its files, that we participated in demonstrations in 1961 to protest the murder of Patrice Lumumba. But the criminals are not the people who protested the murder of Lumumba, but the people who murdered him—and the CIA is the prime suspect."

The CIA's "intelligence gathering" undoubtedly went further than taking notes. Although the Rockefeller report has tried to claim that no disruptive activities were carried out by the CIA in the United States, one document released to the SWP and YSA raises questions in this regard.

The document, a report on the history of the SWP, has a hand-written notation dated September 10, 1951, that reads: "(blank) OPC examined this file." The blotted-out space is apparently the name of a CIA employee working for the "OPC."

"OPC" stands for Office of Policy Coordination—the original cover-action wing of the CIA. In his book



Militant/John Gray  
CIA snappers identified SWP leader George Novack as a 'smooth talker.'

of files on these SWP leaders, but is withholding the rest. It admits to having ninety-one documents on Camejo and thirty-one on Halstead in its secret files.

The CIA's excuse is that "investigatory techniques" or "confidential sources" would be jeopardized by disclosure. The real reason, as the Office of Security memos prove, is that release of more documents can only help erode the already discredited cover-up of CIA activity still further.

The full truth about CIA infiltration, dirty tricks, and spying will only come out when all the secret files have been opened to the public. The suit filed by the SWP and YSA is playing a major role in forcing the facts about this murderous secret-police outfit to the surface.

## 'A substantial contribution'

The Political Rights Defense Fund has won widespread support for its efforts to finance and publicize the socialists' civil liberties suit against the CIA, FBI, and other agencies.

A recent endorser of the fund is Philip Agee, an ex-CIA agent and author of *Inside the Agency*. He wrote to the PRDF that he is "pleased to see how much progress is being made . . . [and] the broad support it has received."

The court order in the suit that led to the initial disclosure of CIA files on the SWP and YSA has also forced the FBI to release some 3,300 pages of its "Counterintelligence Program" files, including documents on "Cointelpro-SWP Disruption Program" and "Cointelpro-Disruption of the New Left."

Other new sponsors of the PRDF include *Village Voice* writer Pete Hamill and Black activist Robert F. Williams, who was a target of Cointelpro disruption operations during the 1960s.

Prof. Noam Chomsky, a longtime PRDF sponsor, credited the SWP and YSA suit and the PRDF with "already [making] a very substantial contribution to the general defense of civil rights."

"These efforts deserve substantial support," he urged.

You can help by making a contribution today.

Clip and mail to: PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

— — — —  
( ) Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_

( ) Please send me more information.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

## What's behind capitalist economic

*Capitalism in Crisis* by Dick Roberts. Pathfinder Press, New York, 1975. 128pp., \$6, paper \$1.95.

"Can Capitalism Survive?" That's the question splashed across the cover of *Time* magazine's July 14 issue. The ten-page feature inside, which purports to examine the history, problems, and prospects of the capitalist system, doesn't have much to say. What is significant, however, is that the question would even be posed by one of the biggest mass-circulation newsmagazines in the United States.

The *Time* editors' answer is "yes," of course, but their defense of the system is hardly impassioned. "It is a little early to write off capitalism," they modestly suggest. Their most optimistic conclusion is that with self-restraint all around and perhaps a little dose of

### Books

authoritarianism, capitalism can probably be saved.

*Time*'s mournful feature is just one reflection of the questioning by millions of people of the present economic and social order. "What went wrong?" they want to know. "Why isn't the system delivering the progress and prosperity it promised? Will things get better or worse?"

These questions, provoked by the convulsive crisis of inflation and depression, are being discussed and debated from one end of the country to the other.

A recent government-funded survey quoted in the *Wall Street Journal* found that "a great majority" of Americans express negative attitudes toward the U.S. free-enterprise system" and that "about half of those surveyed said the economic system requires

more than minimal changes."

After the self-confessed failure of the capitalist economists to foresee the crisis or offer any credible way out, growing numbers of people want to know what Marxists have to say about it all.

*Business Week*, noting "a revival of interest in classical Marxist economics," ran a serious, straightforward article June 23 on "What the Marxists see in the recession"—with no attempt at a rebuttal. Vintage Books has just published *The Economic Crisis Reader*, which presents a generally radical view of the economy. (It includes, incidentally, an abridged version of one of the articles in *Capitalism in Crisis*, plus an article by Ernest Mandel.)

This upswing in interest presents an opportunity and a challenge to the revolutionary socialist movement, which has so far lagged behind the need to explain the economic crisis in a popular way. There is a big gap in the existing literature between introductory pamphlets that give the basics of Marxist economics without reference to current problems, and theoretical books and articles incomprehensible to the nonspecialist.

*Capitalism in Crisis* by Dick Roberts, just published by Pathfinder Press, is a good first step toward bridging that gap. It is precisely the sort of lively, readable presentation that is called for, and its moderate length and price should help to make it accessible to a wide and growing audience.

In essays that range over the major economic, social, and political events of this century, Roberts traces the roots of today's ills—flation, depression, shortages, international monetary instability, liquidity crises—back to the fundamental contradictions of capitalist production as elucidated by Marx. A list of suggested further readings is included for those who wish to delve deeper into Marxist economic theory.

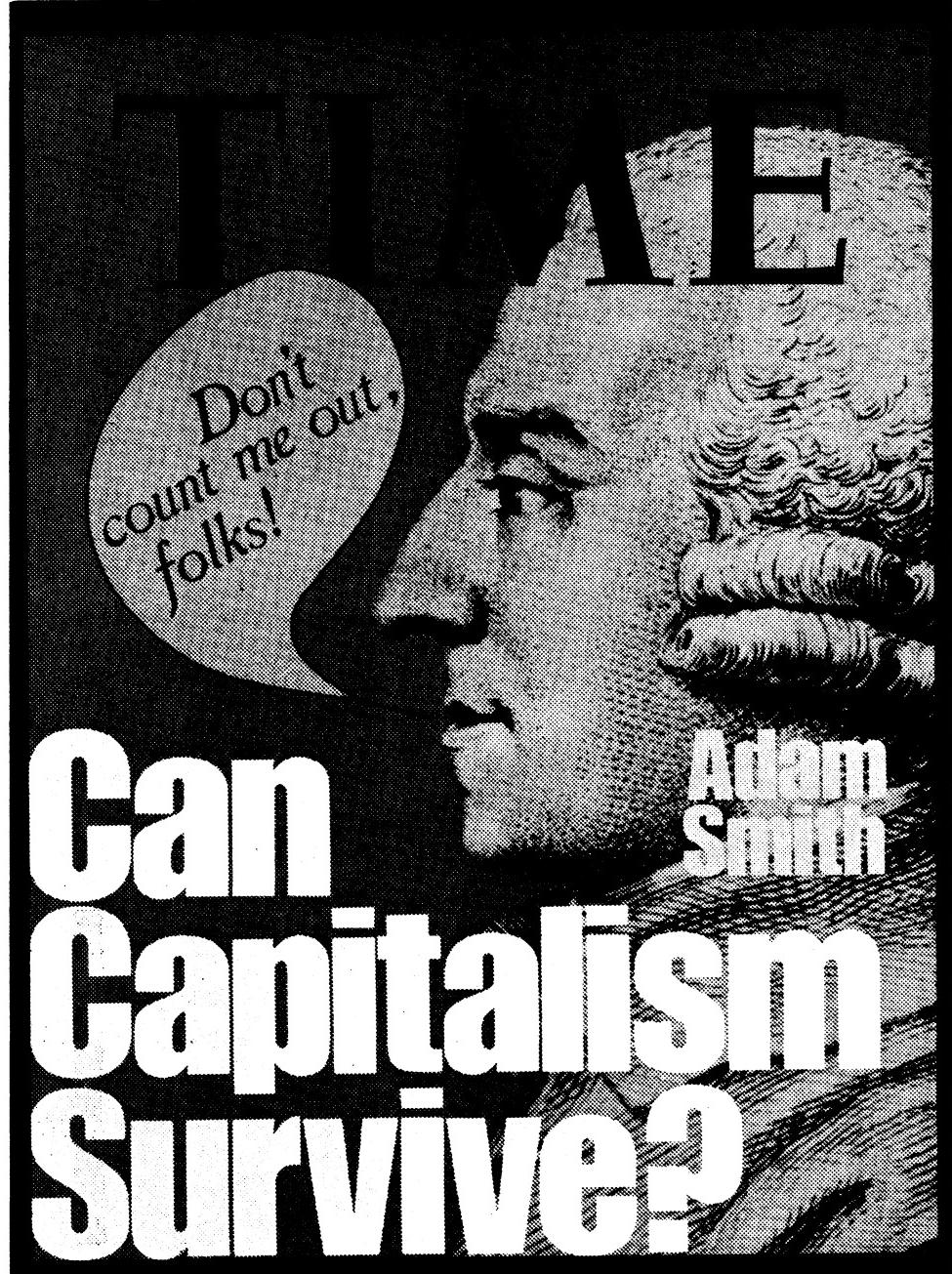
Another valuable appendix is the resolution on "The Capitalist World Economic Crisis" adopted by the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International in January 1975. This resolution by the world Trotskyist organization draws a balance sheet on the crisis as it affects the imperialist centers, the semicolonial world, and the states that have overthrown capitalism.

#### Blaming the victims

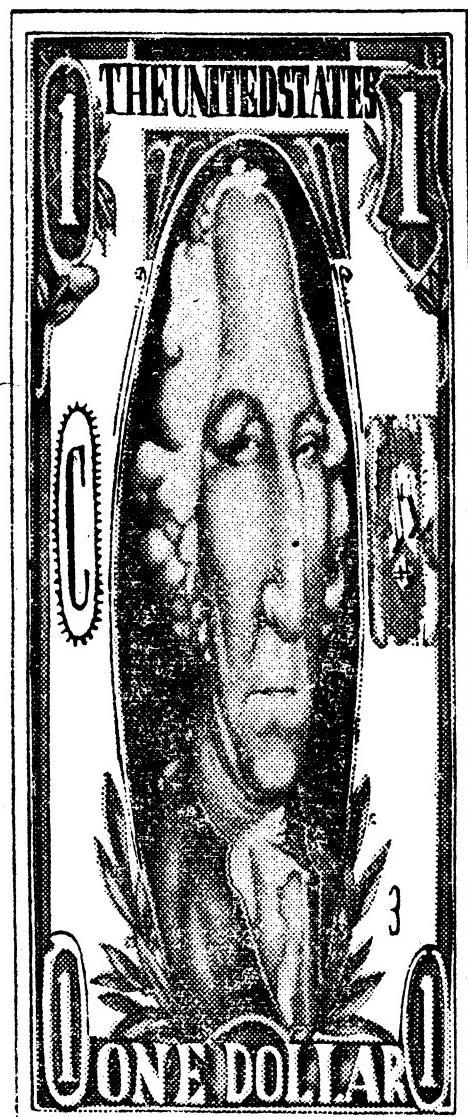
Why is the economy falling apart? Beyond the usual dithering and demagogic, apologists for capitalism have few answers. They tend more and more to blame the breakdown of the system on the *victims* of that system. As *Time* magazine put it, "The root problem is that everybody wants more."

Why a society in which technological advance makes it possible every year to produce more goods with less labor should not be able to provide more for everybody is never spelled out. The argument seems especially ludicrous when there are more than ten million people who want to work but cannot find a job, and when one-third of the country's productive capacity is lying idle.

The real problem is not that the productive forces are inadequate or that people don't work hard enough, as defenders of the status quo often charge, but that production is dictated solely by private profit. Competition drives each capitalist to expand capa-



Is time running out on outmoded system?



Vast military expenditures and government deficit spending shrink value of dollar.

city, to produce more and more, to grab a bigger share of the market on pain of losing even his former share. But this expansion is unplanned, anarchic and uncontrolled, with no guarantee that all the products thrown onto the market will find buyers—much less meet real social needs.

Roberts states: "The insuperable contradiction of capitalist production, as Marx explained it, is that *growth itself leads to crisis*. The drive to accumulate capital is not linked to the needs of society, but solely to the profit needs of the owners of capital. . . .

"The profit needs of capital periodically drive accumulation beyond the point where investments can, in fact, be profitably made." The result is what we are experiencing right now: a *classical crisis of overproduction*.

Too many goods have been produced—not more than people need, but more than can be sold at a profit. The capitalists respond by slashing production, curtailing investment, and laying off workers. As workers are laid off, the decline in their purchasing power eats into other sectors of the economy, and the slump deepens.

These periodic crises of overproduction, irrational and destructive as they are, are inherent in the capitalist system and have occurred regularly ever since the nineteenth century. When such a crisis spread on a world scale in the 1930s, dragging down all the major capitalist powers, the result was the Great Depression.

The *Time* magazine feature acknowledges that "Marx heralded the terrifying and prolonged depressions of the 1870s and the 1930s, which classical

economics said the self-regulating market would never permit. The nightmare of the 1930s for a while threatened to give Marx the final word."

#### 'Savior of capitalism'?

"Fortunately," *Time* continues, "the Great Depression also inspired the most significant theories of John Maynard Keynes, the British economist who has often been called the savior of capitalism."

The commonplace wisdom is that the policies advocated by Keynes ended the depression and have since enabled governments to overcome or at least tame the boom-and-bust cycle of capitalism.

When demand is too weak to sustain production, Keynes proposed, the government should artificially create more purchasing power by spending more than it receives in taxes—deficit spending. This will give a boost to buying and thence to production, profits, and investment.

"But in the actual depression of the 1930s," Roberts points out, "the deficits incurred by Washington fell far short of stimulating revival. The highest U.S. deficit during the entire depression was \$4.4 billion in 1936. But in 1943, as the industrialists churned out weapons to defeat rival imperialists (and reap historic profits), the deficit was \$57.4 billion. . . .

"It was the successful effects of pumping massive deficits into the economic bloodstream to buy war goods—not theory!—that persuaded Washington that Keynes had something to say."

# crisis?

It was continued deficit spending for weapons and war that fueled the next quarter-century of capitalist expansion. But this prolonged expansion was possible only because the devastation of Europe and Japan during the war had cleared out vast areas for profitable investment.

## End of postwar boom

The idyllic postwar period for the American capitalists contained the seeds of its own destruction: eventually the other capitalist economies would be rebuilt and would *emerge again as rivals* for markets. The stage was being set for another worldwide crisis of overproduction.

Moreover, the artificial stimulation of production through deficit spending was inherently inflationary. To finance its deficits, the government borrows from the banks, which in turn expand the supply of credit in the economy. Expansion of the money supply *faster than production expands*—that is the basic engine of inflation.

The nearly uninterrupted growth in Europe and Japan absorbed to some extent the inflationary effect of U.S. deficit spending during the postwar boom, and also cushioned the effect of U.S. recessions. By the early 1970s, however, all the major capitalist powers were following *parallel* inflationary policies—with well-known results—followed by more or less parallel attempts to hold down inflation by squeezing credit, slowing production, and pushing up unemployment.

As production slumps around the world, there is a real danger that the inflated credit bubble will burst, with bank failures and bankruptcies of major corporations and even national governments. And even if (as now seems probable) the economy picks up somewhat from the present recession, it will be at the cost of a new round of virulent inflation that could well lead to an even deeper slump in a short time.

Keynesianism did not eliminate the contradictions of capitalism at all. It only staved them off and made the inevitable crisis all the more violent and catastrophic when it arrived.

Today, Roberts writes, "the dilemma is inescapable. As the crisis of world imperialism deepens, there are no alternatives for each government but inflationary or recessionary policies or both, with governments skirting closer to disaster on both sides."

## Weapon in socialist campaign

*Capitalism in Crisis* is not an armchair analysis. It points toward the independent struggles of working people as the only way to resolve the disorders of this decaying system.

The book includes the "Bill of Rights for Working People," action program of the 1976 Socialist Workers party presidential campaign. The proposals in the Bill of Rights show how working people can begin to protect themselves from the effects of the crisis and move toward replacing capitalism with a socialist economy based on democratic planning for human need.

The publication of this timely and pertinent book makes available a weapon for all those who are campaigning for the socialist alternative in 1976. It amounts to a socialist position paper on what promises to be the most important issue in 1976. It deserves the widest possible circulation.

—Andy Rose

# Demand freedom for 3 PSP members in Dominican prisons

In early June, the Balaguer regime in the Dominican Republic launched a stepped-up repressive campaign in that country on the pretext that there had been a guerrilla landing from Cuba. About 300 opponents of the regime were rounded up.

Among those caught in the repressive dragnet were three Puerto Ricans—Angel Gandía, Raúl García, and John T. Sampson. Gandía is a member of the central committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist party; the other two are also members of the PSP.

The three were held incommunicado for twenty days without charges, then presented to a carefully orchestrated news conference where the government announced that the three had admitted to transporting the guerrillas.

At a June 30 habeas corpus hearing, the prisoners revealed the "confessions" were a result of torture. They explained they had found themselves in the Dominican Republic accidentally, after their boat had strayed off course and had almost run out of fuel in bad weather.

The prosecution produced no other evidence besides the "confessions," not even any evidence to show that a guerrilla landing had in fact taken place. Nevertheless, the judge refused to release the three.

The outrageous kidnapping and brutalization of the three Puerto Rican militants has met with widespread protests on that island and in the United States. Even both chambers of Puerto Rico's legislature have expressed concern over the fate and civil rights of the prisoners. On June 26, more than 1,500 protesters picketed the Dominican consulate in Puerto Rico demanding the release of the three.

The Puerto Rican Socialist party has called on "all defenders of human and civil rights throughout the world" to demand the release of the three. Among those adding their voice to the demand that the three be released is the Liga Juventud Comunista (LJC—Communist Youth League) a Trotskyist organization of young workers and students in Puerto Rico.

Following is a statement issued at the beginning of July by the LJC. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.

The defense of political prisoners is a principle of all revolutionists. We cannot stand aside in such situations.

The three Puerto Rican prisoners—Angel Gandía, Raúl García, and John T. Sampson—are innocent until proved otherwise. Not a single guerrilla has been found in Santo Domingo; the arms they allegedly transported in a boat with the supposed guerrillas have not been found.

What is true is that for more than one month the Dominican people have been repressed by Balaguer's troops and police. As of yesterday, more than 250 persons had been arrested and interrogated in relation to the guerrillas. As far as we know, all of them are innocent.

This has been taken as an excuse by the Balaguer government to repress the Dominican working masses.

The situation in the Dominican Republic is unstable. Unemployment, the high cost of living, and emigration to the United States and Puerto Rico continue to rise.

With regard to the second accusation—that the Puerto Ricans entered the Dominican Republic illegally—we know this is false. Even if it were true that they were captured while trying to obtain gasoline on the southern coast, citizens of the United States do not need passports to enter the Dominican Republic. American citizenship was imposed on the Puerto Ricans in 1917 so that we could serve as "cannon fodder" in imperialist wars. There were Puerto Ricans in Korea and Vietnam and even among the American troops that invaded Santo Domingo in 1965. In the case of Santo Domingo, these Puerto Ricans did not know where they were being taken—to Vietnam or some other place.

Our ideological differences with the PSP [Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño—Puerto Rican Socialist party] do not matter in this situation. In principle we are in solidarity with the three Puerto Rican prisoners. We unconditionally support the PSP in its campaign to win the release of the compatrios.

We should send telegrams immediately to the American embassy and to the Balaguer government demanding, respectively, that they intervene in the case and that they immediately release the three prisoners.

We must publicize the current situation in the press of the Fourth International so that all sections and sympathizing organizations will protest to Washington and the Balaguer government.

We must send the necessary information to the USLA [U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners] so that it can publicize the case in the United States.

We must propose to the PSP the organization of a broad defense committee to defend their three members who are prisoners in Santo Domingo, a committee that will take charge of carrying out support activities and getting out information in Puerto Rico and internationally, a committee that at the same time will demand that the persecution of trade-union leaders, workers, students, and members of opposition parties in the Dominican Republic be ended and that all Dominican political prisoners be freed.

All this will help to expose our colonial situation, make better known the case of Puerto Rico, and educate the masses on the lack of democratic freedoms in Santo Domingo and Latin America.

*Release Angel Gandía, Raúl García, and John T. Sampson—prisoners in Santo Domingo!*

*Freedom for Dominican political prisoners!*

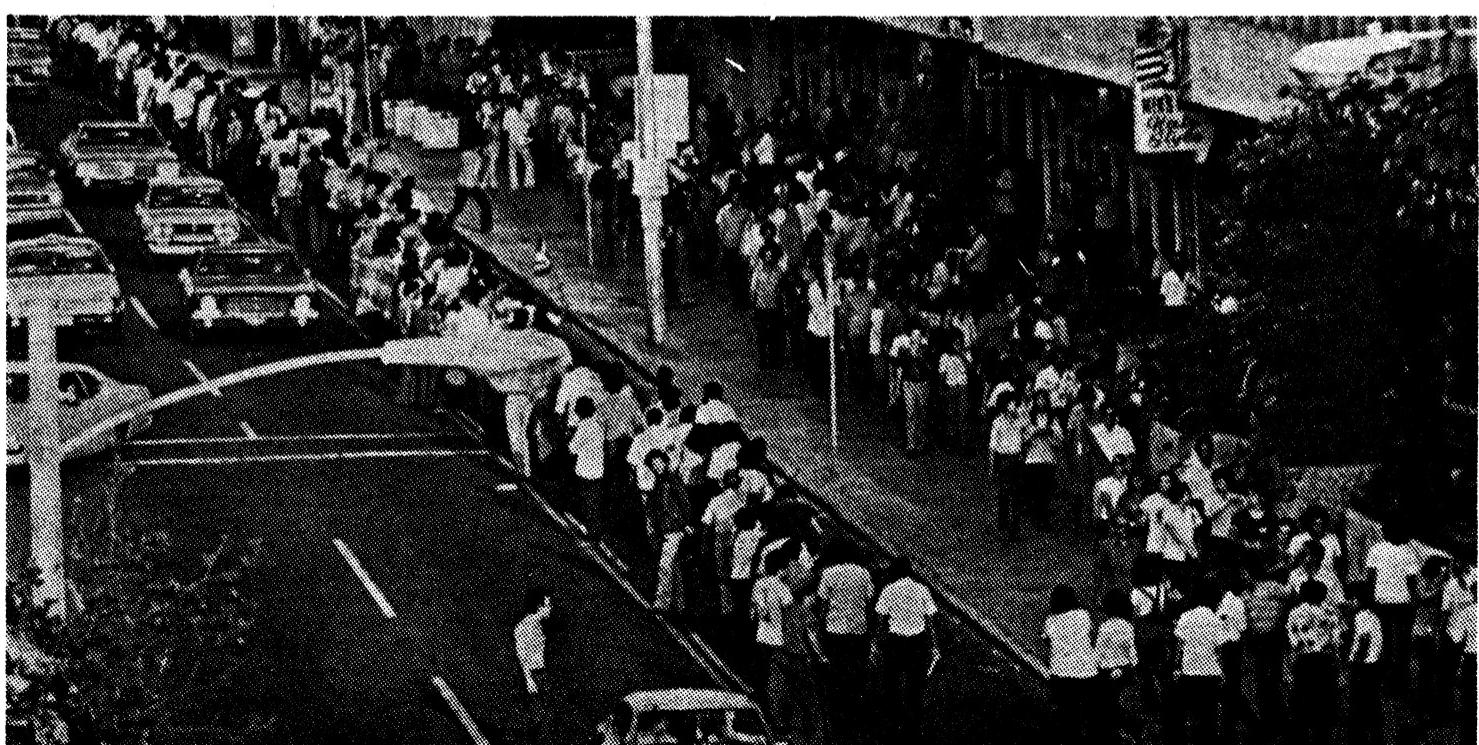
*For the formation of a broad defense committee for Puerto Rican political prisoners!*

## 400 at rally in New York

NEW YORK—Four hundred people rallied at Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza July 15 to demand the release of the three Puerto Rican and all other political prisoners being held in the Dominican Republic.

The protest was initiated by the Puerto Rican Socialist party and was cosponsored by about two dozen other organizations, including the *Guardian* newspaper, the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, the National Lawyers Guild, and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Magdalena González, spokesperson for the New York 1976 Socialist Workers campaign committee, said in a statement distributed at the protest that more demonstrations like it are needed to win freedom for the prisoners, and she charged that the Balaguer dictatorship "is totally propped up by the U.S. government."



Demonstrators outside Dominican consulate in Puerto Rico June 26 demand release of three PSP members who have been tortured in the Dominican Republic.

Claridad/Rafael Robles

# Calendar

BOSTON

**RALLY IN SUPPORT OF NEW BILL OF RIGHTS FOR WORKING PEOPLE.** Speakers: Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate; Norman Oliver, Boston SWP mayoral candidate. Sat., July 26, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor (near South Station). Donation requested. Ausp: Socialist Workers campaign committee. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

DENVER

**CELEBRATION OF THE SIXTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION.** Speaker: Everett Chavez. A slide show by Michael Collins. Fri., July 25, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

MILWAUKEE

**A MARXIST APPROACH TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT.** A socialist summer school series. *A Fight for Survival against the Union Bureaucracy.* Sat., July 26, 1:30 p.m. 207 E. Michigan, Room 25. Donation: 25¢. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (414) 289-9340.

NEW YORK

**ANNUAL PICNIC.** Sun., July 27. At Arrow Park (near Bear Mountain). Donation: \$6; children—\$4. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1976 campaign. For more information and travel details call (212) 982-4966.

ST. LOUIS

**THE CASE OF JOANNE LITTLE.** Speakers: Addie Payne, CLUW; Clara Davy Worthy, Black Women's United Front; Renita Alexander, St. Louis SCAR; Eldor Speigelberg, WILPF; Betty Lee, *Proud* magazine. Fri., July 25, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland, Room 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

SAN DIEGO

**ORIGINS OF THE WORKERS STATES IN EASTERN EUROPE.** The first of three lectures by Theodore Edwards. Fri., July 25, 8 p.m. Sat. July 26: 11 a.m., second lecture; 1:30 p.m. third lecture. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

## ...YSA

*Continued from page 16*

scab lettuce and grapes, the Chicano students looked to SCAR for direction, and together we organized a picket line of 200 students. When the graduate students organized to fight cutbacks, SCAR got involved from the beginning and helped organize a demonstration and teach-in of 1,000 people."

Reports were also heard from around the country about NSCAR's activities in defense of Joanne Little, in working with labor unions in fighting layoffs and cutbacks, and in various high school actions against racism.

The YSA plenum reaffirmed the

decision made at the YSA convention last December to place as a top priority the fight against racism. And to carry out that decision, the YSA's perspective is to help NSCAR become as broad a united-front coalition as possible, involving many groups and individuals, regardless of political differences, around the issues of racism.

The YSA will be helping to organize students to attend NSCAR's second national conference, scheduled for October 10-12 in Boston.

Geoff Mirelowitz, city-wide YSA organizer in Los Angeles, emphasized the need to explain on the campuses and in the high schools many basic lessons of the student movement of the 1960s.

"The basic lessons of the student movement have to be taught all over again," he said. "We must educate and reeducate. The key lessons include the need for united-front coalitions; democratic decision-making; and an action strategy that can mobilize the largest number of people possible."

Through the antiracist work that the YSA is involved in, there has been an increase in Black and Chicano membership in the YSA. In addition, more and more minority student groups and individuals are looking to the YSA for leadership in the struggles that break out on campus and in the high schools.

Olga Rodriguez, member of the national executive committee, presented a report on the 1976 elections. At the YSA convention held last December, the YSA voted to campaign for the Socialist Workers party ticket of Peter Camejo for president and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president.

Campaign support activities will also be part of the responsibility of the regional traveling teams that the YSA will put on the road this coming fall.

"The teams will continue to focus on sales of our publications, supporting the SWP campaign, organizing regional educational conferences and helping to build the Student Coalition Against Racism," said Ilona Gersh in her organizational report.

The teams, in addition, will help the YSA meet its goal of gathering 3,000 new subscriptions to the *Young Socialist* newspaper. Subscriptions to the paper are being offered at one dollar for six months with a reduced rate of fifty cents for high school students.

The plenum decided to hold the next YSA convention at the University of

Wisconsin in Milwaukee on December 28-January 1.

## ...Little

*Continued from page 3*

follow the traditional manner of questioning," Paul replied, pointing out that his client's right to due process is at stake.

"It may not be necessary, but that's exactly what we're going to do from now on," Hobgood snapped.

Gesturing at the prosecution, Hobgood threatened, "I'm going to sustain every one of their objections from now on."

Most of the spectators are young Blacks. Among those attending the trial on July 15 and 16 was SWP candidate Willie Mae Reid. During a recess, she spoke briefly with Little, telling her that supporters are continuing defense efforts on the outside.

Meanwhile, across the street from the courthouse, hundreds of Blacks have gathered daily during the recesses, hoping to catch a glimpse of Joanne Little as she leaves the courtroom.

For every one person standing outside the courthouse, there are thousands more around the country who are determined to free Little. Their voices must be heard if this frame-up is to be defeated.

living. We would be accepting the proposition that we should pay for the crisis that we did not create.

At the meeting where we voted to hold the referendum we also voted to support the sanitation workers' strike and to continue to argue within District Council 37 for a united city-wide strike. We also set up an unemployment committee, headed by a member of the executive board who has been laid off, to help those laid off in obtaining the benefits due them.

Since the discussion on the referendum, the city government has launched a new attack on city workers that shows they intend to continue their no-holds-barred campaign to take everything they can get from us. Reduced summer hours have been taken away, and city workers are forced to work an extra hour a day with no increase in pay.

The answer is not to make further concessions. The unions must stand and fight. The fight has been made doubly difficult by the default of the leadership of District Council 37, which is tied to the city hall Democrats.

The best thing Local 1930 can do is fight to turn this around by continuing to press for united action by all city workers and their allies in the community to counter the city government's attack.

## About those typographical errors

A number of readers have asked what happened to our normally alert proofreaders last week. While we managed to keep typographical errors to a minimum in most of the issue, Caroline Lund's article on the International Women's Year Conference was riddled with jumbled words.

We owe readers an apology and an explanation. Here's how it happened:

The story was proofread, and all the errors were caught and marked for correction. Then the computerized tape was corrected and run through the typesetting equipment to produce a new, corrected galley.

The slip-up came when the old, uncorrected galley was inadvertently used in pasting up the page, and this error got by us when the pages were given a final check.

We're sorry for the annoying inconvenience this caused.

## ...layoffs

*Continued from page 13*

dollars per week.

Many of the older workers are also concerned about the reduction in pension benefits the pay cut would bring about.

The four-day-week scheme is a trap. The city government would like nothing better than to force an across-the-board slash in salary on all city workers.

We would be doing the job for them if we take a voluntary pay cut. It would wipe out all the gains the union has won over the years.

The purpose of the union is to raise the standard of living of the workers. With this scheme we would become an agency for lowering our standard of

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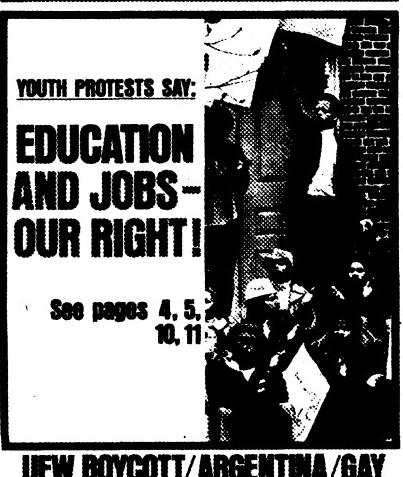
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# THE MILITANT

## 'Gaps' in Rockefeller report

# CIA files show illegal spying began in 1950s

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—Newly released CIA documents on the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance, dating back to 1950, prove conclusively that the Rockefeller commission report on the CIA covered up major aspects of the agency's illegal spy operations.

The documents show that the two socialist groups have been the targets of a massive spy campaign by the CIA virtually since the inception of the agency itself.

Several files concerning the YSA also reveal that CIA spying against dissident groups in the United States did not end when the Rockefeller report said it did, and most likely continues to this day.

The documents were released here by the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is supporting a suit filed by the SWP and YSA against government harassment. The CIA, one of the defendants in the suit, has turned over the documents under court order.

The suit was filed in July 1973 by constitutional attorneys Leonard Boudin and Herbert Jordan.

### Office of Security

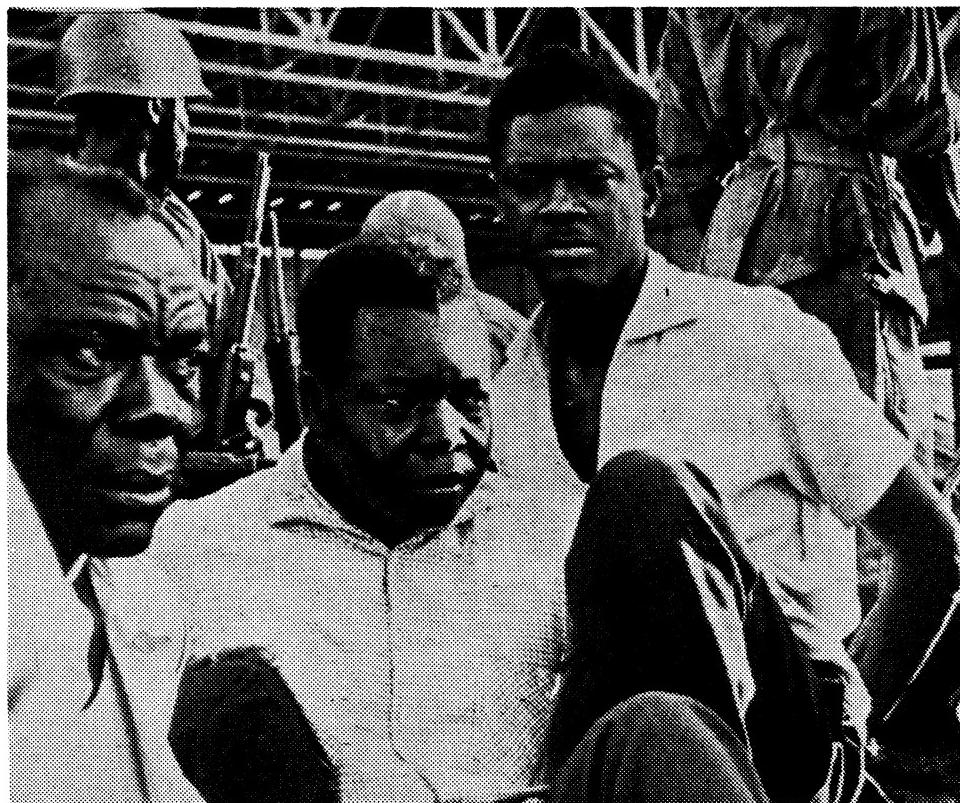
The newly released files are just the first installment of documents that the CIA is being forced to turn over to the SWP. This first installment consists of files from the CIA's Office of Security, the department charged with "ensuring the continued functioning of the CIA," according to the Rockefeller report.

The Rockefeller report claims that the CIA was engaged in domestic spying for only a brief period in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Activities of the CIA's Office of Security, according to the report, were as follows:

- From 1967 to 1970 it collected information on possible threats to CIA recruiters on campus.

- From February 1967 to December 1968, it infiltrated dissident groups in the Washington, D.C., area "to determine if the groups planned any activities against the CIA or other government installations."

- From 1967 to 1973, it did research on domestic radical groups, publishing



Congoese premier Lumumba, at right, just before he was murdered in 1961. When Boston Young Socialist Alliance held demonstration to protest assassination, CIA agents were on the scene.

weekly "Situation Information Reports."

But the heavily censored files released on the SWP show that the CIA was monitoring SWP activities as early as 1950.

One of the items released by the CIA, for example, is a clipping from a 1950 *New York Times* on the SWP's campaign for New York governor. Another report, dated January 26, 1953, states: "Farrell Dobbs polled 10,306 votes in seven states as against Dobbs' 1948 total of 13,613 in twelve states." Dobbs was the SWP's candidate for president in both 1948 and 1952.

The great bulk of the Office of Security material released, in fact, pertains to SWP election campaigns, including scores of clippings on socialist candidates, their programs, vote totals, and ballot status.

The Rockefeller report not only lied about when this spying began, it deleted all reference to CIA programs

against the SWP or YSA from its report. Nowhere in the 299-page report does it mention this twenty-five-year spying against socialist candidates, a blatant violation of their right to freely participate in elections.

### Not one word

"Not a word about this program appears in the Rockefeller report," noted Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund. "The Rockefeller commission says that the CIA's domestic surveillance began in 1967, that it involved only two main programs—Operation CHAOS and the activities of the Office of Security—and that the spying ended before the commission's investigation was even begun.

"But we now have conclusive evi-

dence that these two programs were

only a part of the CIA's domestic

spying. We also have proof that the

CIA still keeps secret files on the

SWP."

The newly released files also show another major omission in the Rockefeller report. The commission claimed that the CIA Office of Security "used no infiltrators, penetrators, or monitors" after December 1968.

"But these CIA files show that the Office of Security," noted Stapleton, "continued to use such agents against the SWP and YSA for at least two years after the date the Rockefeller commission says the practice was ended."

The extent of this cover-up is also clear in the CIA's files on the YSA. The CIA documents on this revolutionary youth group date back to 1959.

One item released is a 1959 leaflet distributed at Columbia University advertising a talk by a member of the *Young Socialist* editorial board.

In March 1961, the CIA's Boston field office sent a report to "Chief, Investigative Division" on a demonstration organized by the YSA to protest the murder of Congolese rebel leader Patrice Lumumba.

The field office also submitted ("as a matter of possible future interest") the text of a YSA leaflet, a leaflet distributed by counter-protesters, and a copy of the *Harvard Crimson*, "which contains an article concerning the demonstration, plus two photographs of the demonstrators."

The YSA leaflet was headed, "We protest the murder of Lumumba; We accuse the Belgian and U.S. Imperialists; We accuse the United Nations."

The counter-demonstrators' leaflet proclaimed: "Any man's death diminishes mankind, but Patrice Lumumba's not especially. For his murder was at the hands of his countrymen, upon whose heads his irresponsible leadership was so instrumental in bringing down disaster. That the Young Socialist Alliance makes this man a martyr is comic indeed, but more than that, it is tragic. For while these students protest in his memory, the people of Hungary and Tibet mourn their dead in silence."

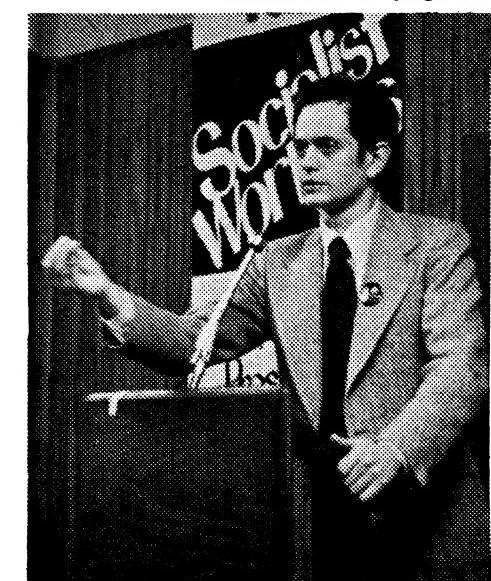
### Assassination plots

In light of the recent revelations about the CIA's foreign assassination plots, the suspicion of direct U.S. involvement in the murder of Lumumba has been greatly strengthened. What would be more logical, then, than for the CIA to keep tabs on those inside the United States who protested that heinous crime?

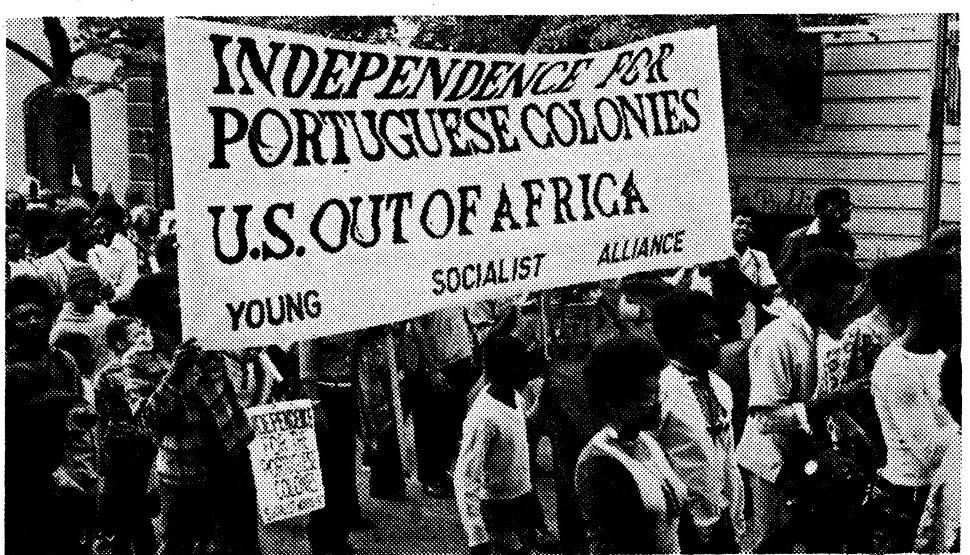
And what would be more consistent with what is now known about the government's secret police operations than for the CIA to have issued the opposing leaflet itself—emphasizing that Lumumba's death "was at the hands of his countrymen"?

In the late 1960s the YSA was playing a central role in the Student Mobilization Committee, which helped organize the giant antiwar demonstrations. And, with the breakup of Stu-

Continued on page 23



Militant/Dennis Scarla  
CAMEJO: 'We have a proud record of international solidarity.'



Militant/Maceo Dixon  
Support to international struggles against imperialism makes YSA prime target for CIA spying and harassment.